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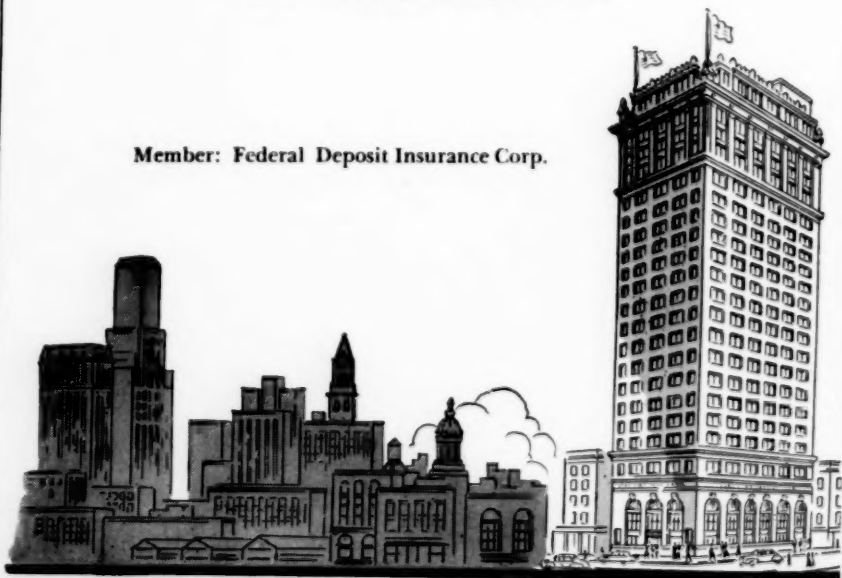
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MARYLAND HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

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FRED SHELLEY, *Editor*

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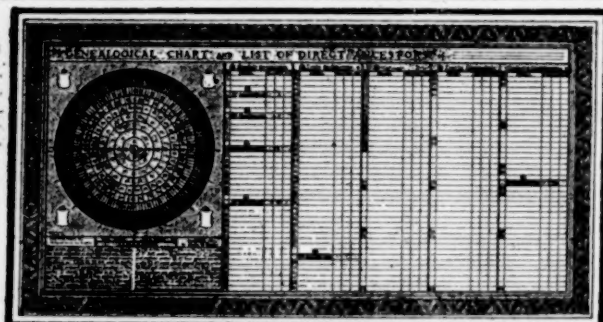


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MARYLAND HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

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SAMUEL KNOX, MARYLAND EDUCATOR

By ASHLEY FOSTER

SAMUEL KNOX (1756-1832) was a pamphleteer, parson, and pedagogue who propagandized for a specific technique and shape of educative process for his own time.¹ Before his contribution to his America can be evaluated, we must, briefly, accord him his place in the larger scheme of things so that his specific recommendations achieve an historical meaning in a proper frame of reference.

At the conclusion of the Revolutionary War, when the hands of the American man returned to his plough, his mind turned to thoughts on the means to make real the abstractions of the Declaration of Independence—the abstractions for which the War had been fought.

¹ There is no life of Knox. See *Dictionary of American Biography*, X, 480-481; B. C. Steiner, *History of Education in Maryland* (Washington, 1894), pp. 43-49, 245-247; "Additional Information Upon Rev. Samuel Knox," *Md. Hist. Mag.*, II (1907), 285-286; and Steiner, "More About Samuel Knox," *ibid.* (1909), 276-279. See also this author's "An 1803 Proposal to Improve the American Teaching Profession," *School and Society*, 80 (Sept. 4, 1954), 69-73.

In general, wars are not at all conducive to the development of public schools, and the American Revolution was no exception. The decline of public schools had reached the pathetic extreme that, it was said, a traveler to that citadel of public education would have found Boston, in 1794, virtually without public schools. Its seven public schools, then, led a poorly housed and pathetic existence and the presence of double that number of private schools indicated that, somehow, the fruits of the law of 1647 had failed to mature.²

In order for America to fulfill the promises inherent in the Declaration of Independence, the intellectual and cultural leaders of this country began to seek for plans to educate Americans since, they recognized, an educated electorate was necessary if the newly-founded republic was to succeed. Illiteracy and ignorance could not be reconciled with democratic processes. Thomas Jefferson and others often opined that the people could make correct decisions if they were given the facts. But he and others knew that some background of elementary knowledge, at least, was necessary so that the given facts might be reasonably analyzed. John Adams put it this way:

... A better system of education for the common people might preserve them long from such artificial inequalities as are prejudicial to society, by confounding the natural distinctions of right and wrong, virtue and vice.³

In the search for solutions to the many problems related to life in America, the American Philosophical Society Held at Philadelphia for Promoting Useful Knowledge—consistent with the practice of the European learned societies—initiated a series of essay contests of which, in one case, the object was to seek "An essay on the best system of liberal education, adapted to the genius of the government of the United States. Comprehending, also, an uniform, general plan for instituting and conducting public schools, in this country, on principles of the most extensive

² J. A. Krout and D. R. Fox, *The Completion of Independence, 1790-1830* (New York, 1944), p. 10.

³ John Adams to Count Sarsfield, Feb. 3, 1786, C. F. Adams (ed.), *The Works of John Adams* (Boston, 1850-1856), IX, 546. See also Thomas Jefferson to George Wythe, Aug. 13, 1786, Julian P. Boyd (ed.), *The Papers of Thomas Jefferson* (Princeton, 1950-), X, 245.

utility. . . ."⁴ This contest was well publicized and tapped the springs of American intellectual thought on the subject of public education.

In recording the society's opinions of the essays offered to the American Philosophical Society, the secretary of that organization, which was then headed by Thomas Jefferson, remarked that

Although none of the Systems of Education then under review appeared to them so well adapted to the present state of Society in this country, as could be wished; yet considering the superior merit of two of the performances, the one entitled "An Essay on Education"; the other, "Remarks on Education: Illustrating the close connection between Virtue and wisdom: to which is annexed, a system of liberal Education"; the Society adjudged to each of the authors a premium of 50 dollars, and ordered the Essays to be published. On opening the sealed letters accompanying these performances, it appeared that the former was written by the Rev. SAMUEL KNOX of Bladensburg, Maryland; and the latter by SAMUEL H. SMITH of Philadelphia.

The educational views of Samuel Knox—published in a pamphlet, *An Essay on the Best System of Liberal Education*—are of interest to us, today, because they represent an epitome of the educational thought of his time. In the State of Maryland, this essay represented the first work on pedagogy printed within its borders.⁵

Little is known of the ancestry and the first thirty years in the life of Samuel Knox, and the available family records are somewhat scant and inconclusive. He was the eldest son of a farmer, also named Samuel; in later years he referred to himself as the son of a poor farmer. He was born in Armagh parish in County Armagh in 1756; studied in Dublin; married his cousin Grace Gilmour; and had four daughters by her before he left Ireland. A reference to Samuel Knox in the minutes of the Ulster Synod is the only extant contemporary allusion to him during this period. His family records offer scant and sometimes unreliable informa-

⁴ *Early Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society for the Promotion of Useful Knowledge, 1744-1838* (Philadelphia, 1884), pp. 228-229.

⁵ Printed in Baltimore in 1799 by Warner and Hanna (Evans 35690); hereafter *Essay on Education*.

It is worth note that, in addition to laws passed by the General Assembly, an unknown writer proposed in 1732 the founding of a college in Annapolis. The proposals represent serious thought on the problem of public education, but unfortunately nothing appears to have come of them. See Steiner, *History of Education*, pp. 26-28.

tion. There is no way of knowing whether Samuel Knox emigrated from Ireland with or without his family. His wife remains unchronicled until her death on November 11, 1812, reported in the *Baltimore American*, November 13.

The first record that we have of Samuel Knox in America is as an instructor at the grammar school in Bladensburg. This record is provided by numerous examples of poetry which appear in the *Maryland Gazette and Baltimore Advertiser* for the period from 1786 to 1789. More examples of Samuel Knox's poetry appear in the *American Museum*, the magazine which its editor, Matthew Carey, hoped would become the repository of contemporary intellectual life in America. One poem, written by Samuel Knox and submitted by a certain Mr. Ponsonby, enacting the role of proud parent, gives us some idea of a contemporary educational practice. At the examination time, when the trustees gathered to ascertain the quantity and the quality of the education proffered the students, the children would each recite a stanza of a poem composed, for this occasion, by Samuel Knox. One such poem, an *Ode to Education*, was a tribute in eight stanzas which had eight pupils, each, memorize a stanza. Thus eight students delivered the tribute to education which concluded with the admonition to

Let learned LOCKE instruct the human mind
 Through each ideal labyrinth to steer,
 With pious WATT, to virtue be inclined
 Enslav'd by no enthusiastic fear.
 Ne'er let the ranting bigot's frantic strain
 Blind or bewilder reason's radiant ray—
 The freeborn soul rejects with just disdain
 Old cloyster'd superstition's stupid sway.
 Yet if affliction's wounded heart thou'dst heal
 Regard religion with a christian care,
 And more revere an honest HERVEY's zeal
 Than all the wit of infidel VOLTAIRE.
 Ne'er warp'd in metaphysic maze, presume
 On sceptic principles with haughty HUME;
 But with a BEATTIE's zeal, defend the truth—
 This comforts age—restrains licentious youth—
 Inspires the soul when worldly joys decay,
 With hopes of heav'n to close life's final day—

Exalts her pow'rs, transporting thought! to gaze
Where knowledge shines in one eternal blaze.⁶

In 1789, at the age of thirty-three, Samuel Knox decided to return to Europe for the M. A. degree. He matriculated that year at the University of Glasgow and gained the reputation for being a faithful and diligent scholar. In the first year of his university course, he won prizes for his translations of Aristophanes and some Latin compositions. In his second year he maintained this diligent scholarship. On April 10, 1792, Samuel Knox received his M. A. degree. Later that year he made his way to Belfast where, on June 25, 1793, the "Belfast Presbytery report that they have licensed Mr. Samuel Knox who subscribed to the W[estminster] Conf[ession] of Faith":⁷ Licensed in Ireland, Samuel Knox was pastor, for about a year, of a church in Belfast. He returned to the United States in March of 1795 and on April 29, 1795, presented his credentials to the Presbytery of Baltimore. At the request of the congregation, he was appointed as supply minister to Bladensburg.⁸ By November 15, 1795, he was ordained to the ministry and installed as a pastor.⁹ By April, 1797, he applied to the Presbytery "for leave to resign his pastoral charge on account of reasons which he hoped would appear satisfactory." This request was granted and, on May 3, he left the pulpit of Bladensburg after having first prepared for the future by applying for and obtaining the principalship of the newly-founded Frederick Academy in Western Maryland.

During his residence at Bladensburg, Samuel Knox composed his *Essay on Education* in response to the essay contest of the American Philosophical Society. In this essay, he set out to present "an entire, general, uniform, national plan, accomodated not only to future improvement in the sciences, but also preserving what hath already been so liberally done in behalf of public education by the United States of America." Prefaced to the essay was an appeal addressed to the legislature of Maryland written when Knox was principal of the Frederick Academy.

This appeal sought legislative support of the academy system of secondary education that was then prevalent in the United

⁶ "Ode to Education," *American Museum or Repository*, V, 406-408.

⁷ *Record of the General Synod of Ulster*, III, 152.

⁸ *Minutes of the Baltimore Presbytery* (unpublished), Vol. I, p. 74.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 82.

States. Knox, as a practical educator, was acutely aware of the fact that the legislative subsidy to colleges in Maryland would be wasted if the legislature were not to assure an adequate supply of college material by supporting the college "nurseries," *i. e.*, the academies. This appeal proved to be quite effective: the subsidies were partially withdrawn from the colleges and the funds were used to subsidize several academies in Maryland including the one at Fredericktown.

The prize-winning *Essay on Education* was unique in that its scope and subject matter had seldom before been handled so comprehensively in America. The essay was written in eleven sections divided as follows:

1. A definition of education.
2. The comparative merits of public education as against private education.
3. The importance of establishing a national system of education.
4. The extent of a national system of education.
5. The advantages of the same uniform system of school books in a national system of education.
6. The establishment and conduct of the primary schools.
7. The establishment and conduct of the county academies.
8. Exercises of amusement during terms of relaxation.
9. The State Colleges.
10. A National University.
11. Conclusion.

The idea, briefly, was a national system of education with a primary school in every town, an academy in every county, a college in every state and a national university.

First, education was defined as "the training up of the human mind by the acquisition of sciences calculated to extend its knowledge and promote its improvement."¹⁰ Without education, said Knox, men would "degenerate to a state of deplorable ignorance." Indeed, it was

. . . the design of a liberal course of education to call all the latent powers of the human mind, to give exertion to natural genius, to direct the powers of the taste and criticism, and refine and polish, as well as exercise, strengthen and direct the whole economy of the mental system.¹¹

¹⁰ *Essay on Education*, p. 49.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 52.

Then a comparison of public and private education distinctly emphasized the advantages of the public school. Human progress, Knox felt, went hand in hand with public education. "Throughout history nations have supported public education in proportion to their improvement in the arts of civilization and refinement."¹² Other advantages of a system of public education were that the group situation would arouse greater pupil effort through the stimulation of competitive desires; the communal association of all classes of society would prevent a man from becoming conceited; and public education could also correct the situation wherein the "poor and such as most wanted literary education have been left almost totally neglected." Indeed, heretofore the few

. . . whom wealth and leisure enabled, might drink deep of the Pierian spring, while the diffusion of its salutary streams through every department of the Commonwealth has been either neglected or considered as of inferior importance.¹³

The children of both the rich and the poor, alike, were to receive an education. The education of the latter, however, was to be increasingly selective with the ascent of the academic ladder; thus of the nation's poor children, only the most talented would receive a free public-supported university education. To prevent economic wastage, however, Knox proposed that these talented poor children who had received something less than a university education at public expense, be utilized as a source of well educated teachers.

The major difficulty in the way of a uniform system of education in the United States was the "wide extent of territory, inhabited by citizens blending together almost all the various manners and customs of every country in Europe." But wasn't this just another sign of the importance of the task ahead? Nothing but a "uniform system of national education" would have "a better effect toward harmonizing the whole," that is, uniting the United States, in the "combined cause of public virtue and literary improvement."

The curriculum of the national system should neglect neither the arts nor the sciences. While Knox would include "those sciences that tend to enlarge the sphere of worldly interest and

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 59.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 68.

prosperity, and without which the various and complicated business of human life cannot be transacted," he also warned against making education too utilitarian. Education was not to be "the hand maid of industry," no indeed, since the "seminaries of learning are the salutary springs of society." The national education "should be adapted to youth in general, whether they be intended for civil or commercial life, or for the learned professions." On the principle of the separation of the church and the state, theology was to be excluded from public education. The existence of the various denominations in America would have made theology a difficult subject to teach. To the denominations, however fell the task of training their own candidates for the ministry.

The national system of education which was proposed by Samuel Knox is, essentially, a national extension of and resembles closely the Virginia Bill for the General Diffusion of Knowledge that was unsuccessfully sponsored by Thomas Jefferson in 1779. This is not to suggest plagiarism but, merely, to point out that this type of plan was in vogue during the critical years of this country's history. The educational structure of the nation was to be under the control of a National Board of Education. The pyramidal educational framework was based upon a primary school to each parish, an academy in each county and a college in each state. Knox's education scheme was topped by the idea of a National University to be located near the capital city. The teachers in this national scheme were to be well paid, given comfortable living quarters and, when deserving, be promoted up the academical ladder so that the lowly parish instructor could, perhaps, look forward to an eventual professorship at the National University.

One of the handicaps faced by many teachers during the early years of this country's development was a shortage of uniform textbooks. Children in the same classroom often had a wide miscellany of textbooks which created many pedagogical problems. Under Samuel Knox's system of education, the schools were to have one uniform system of books that were to be printed by a state printer under the direction of the National Board of Education; a system that is not unlike the system in many states, today. The National University, not under state control, was the exception to this uniformity and was allowed its own printer.

For college entrance, Knox required, first, that all applicants

... should have previously gone through the course of education prescribed by the primary school and county academy, or if instructed by private tuition, that their progress should be equal to and on the same plan with such as were taught at those seminaries.

Secondly, That none educated either publickly or privately should be admitted but such as on publick examination should give satisfaction, both in their classical and mathematical proficiency.

Thirdly. That all students in the State college should at least be intended for a triennial course, which, as nearly as possible, ought to be from the close of the fifteenth till the expiration of the eighteenth year of their age.¹⁴

The collegiate education proffered by Samuel Knox was, basically, a modified classical liberal arts program. Knox insisted, for example, that much more time be spent in vacations and relaxation than many of the colleges of his time permitted. Taking a somewhat pragmatic view, he felt "that the students in the State colleges should have time to mix a little in society, see their friends, and know something of the world, as well as books."

The keystone to Samuel Knox's educational arch is the University of the United States. He felt very strongly that a "great, extensive and enlightened commonwealth" could not find a better cause in which to exhibit "even to some degree of excess, its munificence than in founding, endowing, and supporting a suitable seat of national improvement in literature and erudition." This was even more important than attention to the economic aspects of our nation's development since, as he put it, the "mental powers of man" are "superior to mere bodily emdowments and the means of pampering these."

The National University, which was to be placed at the head "of a system of national education" would be connected

... with every branch or seminary of the general system, would tend not only to finish or consummate the whole literary course, but also to confer upon it that national dignity and importance which such a combination of public patronage and interest would justly expect and merit. It would thus constitute the fountain head of science, that center to which all the literary genius of the Commonwealth would tend; and from which, when matured by its instructive influence, would diffuse the rays of knowledge and science to the remotest situations of the United government.¹⁵

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 138-39.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 149.

This in brief was the plan whereby Samuel Knox hoped to educate and unify the people of the United States. For his system of education he claimed that "under proper patronage and the direction of a well chosen literary board it would amply provide for the proper instruction of youth in every possible circumstance of life, and also for any particular business or profession."

Knox considered that the most important features of this system were an "incorporated board of [state] presidents of education" to superintend this plan and develop the details necessary for its effective functioning, the institution of the state printer for an adequate supply of uniform textbooks and the uniformity of the plan which would produce "not only harmony of sentiments, unity of taste and manners, but also the patriotic principles of genuine Federalism among the scattered and variegated citizens of this extensive Republic," and the education of the deserving poor at public expense. He also pointed to the unusual attention which he had given to mathematics and the physical sciences in his curriculum.

In summary then, the *Essay on Education*, his outstanding work, proposed a uniform system of education to be graded from the elementary school through to the National University; parish schools, county academies, state colleges, and a single National University were to constitute the national school system. The children of the rich and the poor were to receive an education although the education of the poor was to be increasingly selective with the ascent on the academic ladder. Knox's comprehensive scheme anticipated future developments in education by its proposal of a uniform graded system, a standardized curriculum and textbooks and a non-denominational approach to religion in the public school.

While he was principal of the Frederick Academy, Knox had occasion to deliver *A funeral oration commemorative of the illustrious virtues of the great and good General Washington . . .* on the occasion of Washington's birthday, February 22, 1800, just a few months after the death of the first President. This oration reflected the post-mortem popular deification of Washington and Knox spoke of Washington only in terms of unbounded praise. He told his parishioners that

. . . the effusive tribute of sorrow this day shed by the Assembled millions

of this extensive Country, while it gratifies the spontaneous dictates of our own hearts, will transmit to latest posterity an illustrious testimony how far republican gratitude transcends the ostentatious blazonry of all the vain funeral pomp in which the useless hereditary despot is consigned to dust and oblivion.¹⁶

After comparing Washington with the heroes of Hellenic civilization to the greater glory of Mount Vernon, Knox found that Washington had embodied "all that was great and good, glorious, excellent or praiseworthy" in mankind. Washington, himself, might well have blushed at the extravagance of such a tribute:

The Genius of a FRANKLIN, and especially the age that could give scope to such a genius, were probably as necessary in their sphere, for the establishment of that civil Liberty and Independence which America now enjoys, as the sublime talents of a WASHINGTON. What the immortal NEWTON, or FRANKLIN, was to philosophy, the immortal WASHINGTON was to the cause of civil liberty.¹⁷

and at its companion epitaph, a faltering but rhapsodic couplet:

When Tyranny was to be hurl'd from Earth—
GOD to our glorious WASHINGTON gave birth.¹⁸

Knox then turned to his own special interest and spoke of the national university scheme with which Washington had "occupied his last and precious moments" and which were a part of his "last and most earnest recommendations" to his country. Washington, he went on to say, looked forward to

. . . the institution of such a dignified national seminary as was best suited to the genius of our constitution; and equally calculated to promote union and harmony of sentiment, as to diffuse the enlightening influence of Science to the remotest corners of his country.¹⁹

Congress had failed to act upon his presidential recommendation and in breaking faith with Washington, had earned for itself the severe censure of Samuel Knox!

Should it not be then a subject of sincere regret to the public, that his noble design was not more regarded and not more warmly seconded than it appears to have been by those entrusted with the highest interests

¹⁶ (Frederick, Mathias Bartgis, 1800), p. 3. (Minnick 594.)

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 10-11.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 11.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 17.

of the UNION? Alas! When will that happy period arrive, when, even in the purest Republic, no object, in peace or in war, shall be more liberally patronized and prompted than an ample provision for the general means of intellectual improvement?²⁰

The emotional unity that was achieved throughout the land on that day was destined, however, to be short lived. Later in the same year and in the years that followed, the nation and the many small communities like Frederick which comprised it, were to be turbulently torn apart by the impact of partisan politics.

At this time, however, under the guidance of Samuel Knox, the Frederick Academy prospered and maintained high standards. In a report of a legislative committee dated November 26, 1799, it was stated that

... from the well-established character of the principal and tutors in said academy and the attention of the visitors and directors in the management of the same, your committee are led to conclude that Frederick Academy aided by the fostering hand of the legislature, will be rivalled in usefulness by no academy in the State.

These bright prospects were clouded, however, by Knox's predilection for involving himself in political disputes. Because he was able to successfully oppose the anti-Jefferson electioneering of the well-known Federalist minister, the Rev. Jedediah Morse, at the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in May, 1800, Knox was to claim many years later that "I have been the victim of Party persecution." It was to this clash that Knox attributed his subsequent difficulties. One is forced to surmise, however, that Knox had the unfortunate habit throughout his life of falling into bad odor with his congregation or the general public because of his somewhat tactless espousal of his political and educational causes.²¹

By 1802 the Fredericktown papers indicated that a bitter political controversy was raging. Charges and innuendos bordering on the libelous were made against Samuel Knox. The *Fredericktown Herald*, a Federalist paper, carried on an anti-Knox polemic which was too scorching to be mere yellow journalism.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 18.

²¹ He was the anonymous author of a pro-Jefferson tract which sought to differentiate Jefferson's political from his religious views as well as to castigate the extreme Federalists who had referred to Jefferson as "Godless" and "anti-Christ": *A Vindication of the Religion of Mr. Jefferson* . . . (Baltimore, W. Pechin, 1800). (Minnick 588.)

We will not, Mr. Knox, call you a VIPER, we will not call you BASE, nor will we call you a CALUMNIATOR and SLANDERER. . . . But Sir, it is not every man on whom we refrain from bestowing these epithets, that we think undeserving of them, or even of harsher terms of reproach. Neither do we found our sentiments solely upon 'the finger of public opinion.' If we followed that index, our attention might be turned to scenes at Bladensburg. But we stand on stronger ground. A slanderous reflection upon a whole denomination of Christians is not yet forgotten. Nor is the congregation unknown, who have been forced to dismiss their clergyman, or listen to a man they despised. Nor are we ignorant of what has been done nearer home.

A decided difference in political as well as educational opinions evoked this and similar attacks and Samuel Knox, a vocal member of what was, probably, a slender Republican minority within his congregation was only somewhat less inflammatory in his responses.²² His lack of reticence, rightly or wrongly, operated to make him, at best, a controversial figure. It is, at any rate, refreshing in this age of cautious and circumspect pedagogy to run across an educator who had no qualms about committing himself on an issue larger than the syntax of a Latin sentence.

The newspaper controversy raged on with *Bartgis' Republican Gazette* as the vehicle for Knox's responses. He was accused, for example, of carrying on a vociferous political debate within ear-shot of Governor Benjamin Ogle's sick wife; of an alleged misuse of the word "condescension"; of improper instruction, etc., and each accusation provided occasion for further insults and innuendoes; Knox cannot bully the public as he does his own family, etc. Knox's answers, frequently arrogant and haughtily pedantic took pleasure and joy in pulling apart the *Fredericktown Herald* as a little boy might the wings of a fly. Insults and allegations flew fast and furiously, so much so, in fact, that legitimate charges and grievances were never aired. Nevertheless, this friction finally entailed more than a mere clash of personalities; Knox was attacked as an educator and, although the charges were proven to be untrue, he was finally forced to leave Frederick under a cloud. As he recorded many years later in a letter to his political idol, Thomas Jefferson:

On the same Acct. a hostile spirit was taken up against me by the

²² Politically, Frederick was a Republican town in both 1800 and 1802.

Trustees of the Fredericktown Academy, at the same time under my direction. The Messrs. Potts and other highly Fed'l gentlemen of the place removed their sons and placed them at Princeton College—Assigning as their motive that they had been improperly instructed by me. To counteract a procedure so groundless and malignant, I was forced to send an Address to the Faculty of Princeton College requesting in the most earnest manner an examination on the youth from Fredericktown—and the favour of a certificate of the manner in which they had acquitted themselves on that Examination, on being admitted to their college. The result was very flattering to me—I received a certificate, which the circumstances mentioned induced me to publish, that no youth had ever entered that college, who had done more credit to themselves, or to their instructor.

That, however, and the desire of being disconnected from such patrons of public Education—and parents who could so treat the instructor of their sons, soon afterwards induced me to resign the charge of that Institution, at which I had previously a greater number of students from the different counties of Maryland—and some from adjacent counties in Virginia than was at that time in the state college at Annapolis tho' endowed with an annuity of seventeen hundred pounds—and conducted by a faculty of considerable reputation as to literary acquirements.²³

By October, 1803, Knox was forced to resign his position as the head of the Fredericktown Academy and he moved to Baltimore.

Before moving, however, Knox recorded some thoughts on education in which he proposed a Schoolmasters' College. In this essay he proposed to raise the educational standards for the teaching profession and, in addition, to make teaching a financially secure profession. In this respect he once again anticipated the general educational thinking of his time. Few people, if any, in the America of 1803, made concrete suggestions that were designed to elevate the position of the teacher as well as the pedagogical standards of America.²⁴

During the years at Baltimore, Knox preached supply at Soldier's Delight and also ran a private school. In 1808 he joined forces with another school headed by Rev. William Sinclair and, subsequently, this amalgamated school was made the Baltimore College. As one alumnus reminisced:

... this union with Knox was made with a view to carrying the two academies into the college, which was accordingly organized under the

²³ Knox to Jefferson, November 30, 1818.

²⁴ *An Essay of the Means of Improving Public Education, Adapted to the United States* (Frederick, John B. Colvin, 1803). (Bristol 196.)

direction of a board of trustees, with Knox as president and Sinclair as vice-president. The college buildings were provided for by the grant of a lottery, and were erected nearby opposite the Cathedral. I think it was about 1810 when these buildings were finished for our reception. In the mean time, that is for two years, we assembled in Knox's Academy rooms, in what was then called Chatham Street, now Fayette Street, at the corner of McClellan's Alley.²⁵

On December 31, 1807, just prior to the merger of the two academies, Knox appealed unsuccessfully to the Maryland Legislature for financial support. Knox's second appeal, this time for the support of higher education in general and the proposed Baltimore College in particular, was completely rejected.²⁶

The only personal description that we have of the Samuel Knox of this period presents us with a distinctly unflattering picture. John Pendleton Kennedy, characterized by V. L. Parrington as one of the most attractive figures of his generation, found college life under Knox considerably less stimulating than reading *Tristram Shandy*. He described the schoolmaster as

. . . an Irish Presbyterian clergyman,—a large, coarse, austere man with an offensive despotism in his character which not only repelled all love, but begat universal fear and dislike among the boys. He was not much of a scholar either, I should say, and was far from successful as a teacher. In fact, the boys under his charge made but little progress even in the rough work of study, and were left altogether uninstructed in those matters of taste and nice criticism which I hold to be indispensable to the object of creating a fondness for study in youthful minds. . . . But every thing with Knox seemed to be done in the most repulsive manner. We hurried through recitation before him at a gallop, saying what was set down for us, or seeming to say it, when he ran on ahead of us, unconsciously reading out the whole lesson sometimes, as if in a hurry to be done with it. He had no pleasantries, by the way, no explanation, no appeals to our own perceptions of an author's merits. Thus we measured off Virgil and Homer *by the yard*, as rapidly and as recklessly as we should have measured off so much tape.²⁷

In Baltimore the career of Samuel Knox was to be as turbulent as it had been in Fredericktown. In 1806, for example, a tempest apparently started by Knox, raged for a few weeks and centered

²⁵ Henry T. Tuckerman, *Life of John Pendleton Kennedy*, New York, 1871), p. 44.

²⁶ *Discourse on the Present State of Education in Maryland* . . . (Baltimore, Warner and Hanna, 1808). (Bristol 644.)

²⁷ Tuckerman, *op. cit.*, pp. 44-45.

about his antagonism towards the newly-founded "Jesuitical" institution, St. Mary's College in Baltimore. In response to a laudatory letter Knox, under a *nom de plume*, attacked the college for its aristocratic tendencies. The fact that St. Mary's College catered to the political Federalists, the socially elite, galled Knox. It was indeed a bitter draught for him to see that college prosper. The bitter feud which he carried on apparently resulted in the decline of the little patronage that Baltimore College had so that, by the end of 1818, Knox was able to report that

At present, tho' Baltimore College is without funds or endowments, she maintains an existence—and tho' many Youths of considerable promise of usefulness to their country have here first stood their course of Education—and tho' a few patrons also particularly William Pinkney Esq. Late Envoy to Russia, shall afford us all their countenance, yet the Institution is unable to support itself, against such discouragement, in any proper consistency with its designation as a college.²⁸

In general, complained Knox, Baltimore did little to support higher education.

On July 28, 1817, shortly before Baltimore College was to close its doors, while Thomas Jefferson was searching for a teaching staff for the Central College (later University) of Virginia, the visitors of the projected Virginia institution agreed

. . . that application be made to Doctor Knox, of Baltimore, to accept the Professorship of Languages, Belles Lettres, Rhetoric, History and Geography; and that an independent salary of five hundred dollars, with a perquisite of twenty-five dollars from each pupil together with chambers for his accomodation, be allowed him as a compensation for his services, he finding the necessary assistant ushers.²⁹

Although the invitation left him the provision for an entire University, Knox does not seem to have received the offer. It appears quite certain that he would have accepted the position despite the relatively low stipend offered. On September 10, 1817, Thomas Jefferson wrote to Joseph C. Cabell that "Dr. Knox has retired from the business, and I have written to Cooper"³⁰ and the visitors of the Central College decided that "on information

²⁸ Knox to Jefferson, November 30, 1818.

²⁹ *Early History of the University of Virginia as Contained in the Letters of Thomas Jefferson and Joseph C. Cabell* (Richmond, 1856), p. 396.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 81.

that Rev. Mr. Knox, formerly thought of for a professor of languages, is withdrawn from business, the order of July the 28th is rescinded." ³¹

Later, in 1818, Knox heard that Thomas Jefferson had expressed the wish that if Knox were not employed, a place might be found for him at the University of Virginia. Knox wrote to Jefferson on November 30, 1818, and offered himself as a candidate for a professorship at the University. By that time, however, Jefferson was no longer interested and he answered Samuel Knox in educational generalities and included no offer of a position.³² This reply was discouraging and left little hope for any position in the future at the University of Virginia. About this time, early in 1819, Samuel Knox left Baltimore College and retired.

His release from the limbo of an unchronicled three year period beginning with his resignation from Baltimore College was affected by a nuptial notice published in the same Frederick paper which, two decades earlier had goaded him to dip his pen in acid. The paper had not changed hands but all seems to have been forgiven and forgotten.

m. Thursday April 18, 1822, by Rev. P. Davidson Rev. Sam'l Knox of Balt., to Miss Zeruah McCleery of this place.³³

The aging bridegroom of sixty-six took his Frederick bride, who was just half his years, to Baltimore. There they established residence and Knox once again turned his mind and efforts to matters educational.

Knox had been intrigued by the then popular educational systems of Lancaster and Bell and fascinated by the prospect of an education that was for the great mass of society.³⁴ He wished to

³¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 396-397.

³² Jefferson to Knox, Dec. 11, 1818; this and the letter of Nov. 30 are found in the Jefferson MSS, Library of Congress.

See also H. B. Adams, *Thomas Jefferson and the University of Virginia* (Washington, 1888), pp. 106-107.

³³ *Fredericktown Herald*, April 20, p. 3, col. 3.

³⁴ For those who sought the cheapest means for the state to discharge its responsibility, it was the educational system of Joseph Lancaster that proved to be a blessing. This system, it will be recalled, centered about the utilization of a teacher-trained assistant who was usually recruited from the brighter members of the class. These students who learned a little faster than the rest of the class were pressed into service, as it were, to dispense their newly-won information to their classmates. In the usual situation each assistant handled about ten pupils. While these assistants were doing the work that is normally done by the teacher,

work out a complete system of education—from the primary school through to the college level that would receive popular support. In an attempt to outdo the Lancastrian system by applying a modification, Knox proposed another educational plan under the title of "Improvement of Public Education" whose chief claim was the dependence

... upon the proper use of the *printing press*; and, by a suitable apparatus enabling the instructors to extend to *many* their unremitted labours, with the same facility as to a few; and, at the same time, without resorting to the mode adopted by some other systems, of employing a portion of those to be instructed to teach their fellows—a practice suited to those only who have the misfortune to be in a state of dependence and pauperism.⁸⁵

The "suitable apparatus" that Knox proposed was a rather wild Rube Goldberg sort of invention. He proposed to mass-educate some three to six hundred students by the use of an overhead crane that was not unlike the vacuum device seen in many of the larger department stores of today which is used to facilitate as well as centralize the recording of all sales. Knox wanted such a communication system between the teacher and each of his pupils in order to allow notebooks to travel between the teacher and his pupil without the necessity for either to leave his seat. The advantages claimed for this system were twofold: all the notebooks could be examined by the instructor, himself, and not left to the student assistants and, secondly, the time ordinarily lost to the instructor while the student-teachers were instructing, under the Lancastrian system, would be saved to the benefit of all pupils.

In the early part of 1823, Samuel Knox returned to Frederick and, after some twenty years of separation, once again assumed the leadership of the Frederick County Academy which, since May 4, 1813, had been run on the Lancastrian system. At this time, *i. e.*, 1823, the Academy had only a small enrollment, but there was hope that more students would arrive later that spring. The pastor of the Presbyterian Church in Fredericktown, the Reverend Patrick Davidson, was associated with Knox in the pedagogical

the teacher, himself, freed from many of his immediate concerns, could not only act in a supervisory capacity but also perform other necessary duties.

⁸⁵ *Niles' Weekly Register*, XI (New Series), 53, September 22, 1822.

duties of the Academy; Knox taught the classics and Davidson taught both English and mathematics. Patrick Davidson had, at one time, regarded Samuel Knox as a potential threat to his established position in the congregation. Knox recognized this insecurity and thought it his duty to ease Davidson's mind on this score and so he went to some pains to assure Davidson that he did not wish to undermine the good pastor's status or displace him within the congregation. Davidson's insecurity was not doubt based upon the fact that he was a sick man, a condition which frequently rendered him unable to attend to either the school or his ministerial duties. At any rate, Knox enjoyed the fellowship of "this most pious man" and after two years it was Knox's sad task to preach the funeral sermon of his long-suffering friend and co-worker.³⁶

Before 1826, the issue of public support for education in America was a topic of much general interest. Obviously, Knox favored the cause of a state-supported education. Although he was opposed to the tax-supported free public schools, he was not inconsistent when he opposed this type of school since, in his mind, this was a pauper school. He was against the establishment of schools on the tax-supported "New England plan" because he felt that the State had the responsibility to see that the parents labored for the nurture of the child's mind as well as they labored for his body. It was

. . . rather of the public interest that such a system should be adopted by the State as would render it obligatory on every parent to educate offspring and to consider it as much their duty to labor for the food and nurture of the mind as for that of the body. I believe a parent can be compelled by law, if he has any possible means, to provide sustenance for the life of his child, and I do not see why they should not also be rendered responsible to the State for their proper instruction according to their means. . . . One thing I am certain of, and that is, that any system calculated to place public education on a degraded foundation will terminate to its injury and discredit, and a spirit for having it conducted on pauperism plans must have that tendency.³⁷

³⁶ Steiner, "Samuel Knox" in *Report of the Commissioner of Education, 1898-1899* (Washington, 1900), pp. 597-598.

A copy of Knox's sermon, *A Discourse Delivered in the Presbyterian Church in Frederick* . . . (Frederick, Herald, 1825), is in the Library of the Md. Hist. Soc.

³⁷ Steiner, *op. cit.*, p. 598.

Perhaps Knox felt that the principle of a free tax-supported educational system would have been a violation of the sanctity of the individual which was a part of the Jeffersonian ideal which he supported. He probably was opposed to the "free" rather than the "State" part, feeling, perhaps, that it tended to pauperize men rather than make men of paupers.

Despite the many years which had passed without any overt activity or signs of activity in behalf of a national university by the Federal government, Knox had not given up hope; he still cherished the idea of a national system of education that was to be headed by a federal university. One had but to read the inaugural addresses of almost every American president up to that time to find words of encouragement for the proponents of a national university. In March of 1826, Knox travelled to Washington to lobby with members of Congress on that matter and reported of his mission to his son-in-law, Mr. Archibald George of Baltimore, that he

... was very attentively and politely received and treated by some of the members individually to whom I was introduced, but they all agree that public education was a subject Congress could not take up; that it was unconstitutional and reserved as an inherent right in each particular state.

I took the liberty of arguing the point with some of them in this way: I said that I regretted to have to observe that what tended to the growing opulence and high improvement of the nation in that respect, in as far as roads and canals could subserve the object, nothing seemed to be unconstitutional, but that roads and canals were absolutely necessary to convey the treasury of wisdom and light and knowledge to the minds of the community at large did not seem to be equally important; that such inlets to knowledge were considered "unconstitutional."⁸⁸

Later in that year, 1826, Knox was still busily and actively pamphleteering for public education and teachers' colleges. In an *Essay on Education* written in 1826, he elaborated the proposals which he had first made in 1803 and reiterated the Jeffersonian educational philosophy of some three decades earlier, a faith in the boundlessness of human progress. Mankind, he felt, would

... continue to be progressive until all the generations of men shall have finally passed away. The introduction, therefore of any improvement that in any degree contributes to the credit and happiness of society, so

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 598-599.

far from disparaging what has already been done, ought to be the interest of all concerned.³⁹

Samuel Knox's second association with the Fredericktown Academy ended once again in a disagreement with the trustees. Earlier they had been satisfied with his efforts, and they published a testimonial in the *Fredericktown Herald* of May 1, 1824, to that effect. One historian of Western Maryland recorded, however, that after a very heated controversy,⁴⁰ the Lancastrian system was abolished at the Frederick Academy on May 4, 1827. Although it has not been possible to ascertain the cause of the differences between Samuel Knox and the trustees of the Academy, it seems likely that the frictions were caused by a cantankerous old man who did not grow gracefully mellow in his old age and, in this case, who would not or could not see the defects of Lancastrianism.

On September 29, 1827, Samuel Knox advertised that in his "present proscribed condition" he intended to open a private school and that he would give instruction at night if ten people were to apply. He taught at this private school for a short while, but he had aged greatly and the boys took delight in cheating the old man. He soon retired from his life's work. A little bookstore on Market Space with the sign "Jesuitical and Non-Jesuitical Books" was then the focus of his attentions. He thus lived on at Fredericktown five years longer; his career as an educator slowly petered out, as did his own physical strength.

Thus the closing years in the life of Samuel Knox saw the old man still fired by the ideas that he originally proposed in 1797 and in 1803, enthusiastically proselytizing for his private translation of Lancastrianism. He had become enamored of the quantitative aspects of education and had devoted the last years of his life in the attempt to make education universally available at a price—which, incidentally, he insisted upon—within reach of everyone. He theorized and propounded into his very last years. His professional retirement was marked by neither fanfare nor official honors. He departed from his profession in much the same manner that he had spent long years in it. He retired on the occasion of a squabble emanating, at least in part, from the

³⁹ *A brief essay on the best means of promoting the interests of public education* (Frederick, Samuel Barnes, 1824), p. 14.

⁴⁰ J. T. Scharf, *History of Western Maryland* (Philadelphia, 1882), I, 496.

theoretics to which he had so tenaciously clung all his life, theoretics which even by then were somewhat faded and outworn.⁴¹

The *National Intelligencer* (Washington, D. C.) of September 4, 1832, carried the following notice:

Death

At Frederick, Md, on Friday, after a lingering illness in the 76th year of his age, the Rev. SAMUEL KNOX, for many years the president of Baltimore College. Mr. Knox was a ripe scholar and a worthy gentleman, and highly esteemed by his old pupils and a large number of relatives and friends.

⁴¹ Among other publications by Knox in the Library of Md. Hist. Soc. is *A Compendious System of Rhetoric* . . . (Baltimore, Swain & Machett, 1809) (Bristol 750.)—Ed.

ADAM CUNNINGHAM'S ATLANTIC CROSSING, 1728

By WHITFIELD J. BELL, JR.

THE hardships and hazards of ocean travel in the 18th century were accepted with such equanimity that accounts of even the most dangerous passages were often expressed with a detachment that makes them all the more moving. Such a record is Adam Cunningham's, made during a voyage from Scotland to Virginia in 1728 in a vessel carrying indentured servants to America.

Cunningham's journal of that voyage is a catalogue of terrors and sufferings. The captain was a drunkard who knew so little of his business that the crew once locked him in his cabin during a storm and managed the vessel themselves. The indentured servants broke open the wine chest one night and drank off three dozen bottles. The bread was consumed, the water turned foul and then gave out, until the crew were too weak from hunger and scurvy to do their duty, and the captain had to beg each passing vessel, often vainly, for a few provisions. One of the men fell overboard; for some days thereafter sharks followed the ship hungrily as it wandered along the aimless course the captain "charted." A tropical hurricane carried off the masts while all the servants and half the crew cowered helplessly below decks. Approaching its destination, the ship sailed past the Chesapeake Capes, and adverse winds delayed its return. When it got within the Capes at last, by either the captain's ignorance or his bravado, the ship ran aground, and the emaciated survivors of six harrowing months at sea stumbled ashore at last.

Little is known of Adam Cunningham, either in Scotland or in America. He was the son of Sir William Cunningham of Caprington in Scotland and a brother of Alexander Cunningham, who succeeded to the baronetcy of Prestonfield as Sir Alexander Dick.¹

¹ On the Cunningham family generally see Hon. Mrs. Atholl Forbes, *Curiosities of a Scots Charta Chest, 1600-1800* (Edinburgh, 1897).

Adam studied medicine, probably in Edinburgh, perhaps also at Leyden, as his brother did; but he took no degree. The young men's father, old Sir William, once contrasted Alexander's "filial and kindly concern" with Adam's very different behavior; and there is reason to believe that Adam was at best heedless and unkind, and at worst that he went to the colonies because he got into some scrape at home.² He sailed from Scotland on April 4, 1728, with the intention of settling in Virginia as a physician.

May 5. Fair clear weather. We steer to the NW and make pretty good way, running twixt 6 and 7 knots per hour.³

May 6. The wind due west, so we steered NNW or NW and by N. About 4 in the afternoon we spied a sail and the master taking his glass, could make nothing of her. About one hour [afterwards] she came within one hundred and fifty yards [of us, fired a] sharp shot, which brushed by our broad side, [afterwards] flying out a white ensign. We now thought [she took us for] a French pirate or an Algerine man. Therefore [we presently] struck and hauled in our colors; but when we spoke them, we found [they] were French men and their Captain drunk, who out of bravado had fired at us, seeing we were defenceless. [From the] same to

May 18 we had generally calms. About the [22] we saw a ship on our larboard side about 4 miles distance from us. It being then break of day and our Captain much in liquor, we did not much care for speaking to them, but our Captain would speak to them and it being then a very rolling sea, as we were coming very nigh to speak them, a heavy wave dashed our ship against her bowsprit, which broke part of it, and we would not have escaped damage, had it not been by the dexterity of our steersman. The ship was a Frenchman lately come from Newfoundland load with codfish. We were then about the latitude of 47-00.

May 23. The winds still proving contrary, we resolved to steer to the S, and continued doing so until June 2, when the wind shifted to SW; then we were obliged to steer NW and WNW, which we continued for 6 days. About this time the servants aboard that were to be transported, broke open our wine chest and stole about 3 dozen of our wines, which was a great loss to us, our water beginning to smell. They were lashed to the pump and whipped with a cat-of-nine tails. [June] 8 the wind shifts to NE and we steer [W and] continue so to the 14. We now

² Sir William Cunningham to Alexander Cunningham, Edinburgh, December 19, 1724. This letter, those cited below, and Adam Cunningham's journal are in the possession of Mrs. Dick-Cunyngham and her daughter Mrs. Janet Oliver of Prestonfield, Edinburgh, by whose kind permission they are presented here.

Spelling, capitalization, and punctuation have been modernized.

³ The first two pages of the journal, containing the record of the first month at sea, are lost.

plainly see the [Captain's] humor, for he gets himself drunk every night, never minding the course of the ship; and seeing our liquors beginning to run scarce, the supercargo and I take our own shares, leaving the other to him to do as he pleased, which he had not above 8 days before it was finished.

June 14. The wind at W and continues from W by N to W by S most part of this month. Here we had more wine stole from us, for which the principal rogue was hanged up at the main yard's arm and then plunged into the sea for 3 or 4 times successively; the rest were whipped at the main yard [mast?]. We are now almost out of liquor and therefore very sparing, our water being very loathesome to drink.

July 1. Exceeding hot weather, we being now in the latitude of 36-45. The weather very calm. Our men are so fatigued with heat they can scarce handle the sails, and our water very bad.

July 3. Spied a brig about 2 leagues ahead. We immediately hoisted our ensign, on purpose to know of her from whence she came, how far she might be from the coast of America, whether she had any fresh provisions to spare or could supply us with any rum and sugar. When we came nigh her we found she was an Irish ship come from Barbadoes bound for Cork in Ireland. We told her our condition, and the master desired us to hoist out our boat, which was immediately done, so our mate and 4 of the sailors went on board of her and were very kindly entertained; but they could not spare us any fresh provisions, only they supplied us with what rum and sugar we wanted. We understood from them she came from Barbadoes on June 4, and reckoned they were about 4 hundred leagues from the coast of America. They likewise told us they left the trade wind in the lat. of 30-00.

July 4. We immediately steer S on purpose to make the trade wind. It is now very hot weather but the sailors can stand it out a little better because we gave them a dram now and then. But our master is very lazy, lying in his bed and getting himself drunk for 2 or 3 days successively, without offering to take one observation or mind the ship's course. We make but slow way, our ship being very foul.

July 5. About 3 in the morning our watch cries for all hands upon deck, at the same time telling there was one of the ship's company fallen overboard. Immediately there was ropes thrown overboard, but all to no purpose, for 'ere the ship could be turned about, he perished. This poor fellow was one of the transports and had a hand in stealing our wine. The day the hottest we have had yet.

July 6. Fair clear weather. We continue to steer to the S. We perceive now a vast many dolphins and flying fish, which we frequently catch and make very good food of them, they being the only fresh provisions we can have.

July 7. Stormy weather. We sail all day long under a reef mainsail; but about 10 at night our master being in liquor, to show his courage,

ordered the sailors to hoist the main topsail, then the foresail and foretop-sail, at which the mates showed him the danger whereto he exposed the ship, cargo, and all their lives; but he, being headstrong, ordered them to hoist topgallant sail, which they, by the supercargo's persuasion, refused; and by force hauled him down to his cabin, where they shut him in all night. They lowered the sails presently, yet notwithstanding, the water had got over the gunnel and damaged several parcels of goods.

July 8. Fair clear weather. This day our supercargo takes a protest against the master. About noon we catch a shark 9 foot long, they having continued about our ship ever since our man fell overboard.

From July 9 to 26, we still continue to steer S, in which time we caught a vast many dolphins and bonitos, which was a great preservative against the scurvy, we having nothing but one barrel of salt pork aboard; but the greatest want we labored under now was the want of water, which, though stinking as it was, had all along preserved our lives. We were now reduced to almost one English pint per day, until

July 27, when there fell such a quantity of rain water as would have filled all the vessels we had, if we could have got them soon enough upon deck. We are now in the latitude 31-14.

July 28. We are just coming into the trade wind, but by the master's orders, we are obliged to tack about and steer NW and WNW, by which we could perceive his design was to protract the time as long as he could.

August 4. Pleasant weather. About 8 in the morning we spied a ship to the windward of us about 2 leagues. All our water we had being unwholesome and our rum gone, we hailed her to see if she could spare us any provisions or fresh water. When she came within speaking, we asked them from whence they came and to whom they belonged. They answered they belonged to Boston in New England, came from Newfoundland, and were bound for South Carolina. We then begged them to spare us what provisions they could, offering any price for them. But they answered they could spare nothing but some salt fish and a little rum, they being very scarce of water and provisions themselves. Then we gave them what they demanded and so parted. We understood by them that they reckoned themselves but 70 leagues from the Capes of Virginia; but to our experience we found afterwards we were more than 4 times 70 distant.

From August 5 to 23, very high winds and for the most part contrary. Here we find very strong currents setting sometimes northerly and then southerly, so that it was very difficult to keep a due reckoning.

August 26. About 10 in the morning perceived a ship about 3 leagues ahead. We hoisted our ensign, at which she bore down to us, and came up with us about 12. She had come from Nevis in the West Indies, had been load with rum, sugar and molasses, but having lost her masts in a hurricane, they were obliged to throw most of their rum and sugar overboard. She was steering for New England to repair and have new masts. We could get no help from them, it being then a very high sea.

From August 26 to September 2, very fair winds. We are now quite run out of bread, so that we were obliged to eat peas, but to our great comfort we had still water aboard.

September 3. Spied a ship on our starboard quarter, but it being then a NW[ester], which is a violent NW wind which continues about an hour, we could not speak her until it was over. She was a ship come from New York bound for Surinam in the West Indies, her cargo being most partly [sic] horses, having 29 of them when she came away and now only 12 remaining, being obliged to throw 17 of them overboard by the violence of the weather. We got from them 2 barrels of flour, which was a considerable helping our great necessity. We continued until this time in a pretty good state of health, saving the scurvy, which now began to show its effects upon our men's constitutions, for there was scarce 5 able to work the ship. In this condition we continued until

September 19, which was a day like to have cost us all our lives. It was a violent hurricane which began thus: Early in the morning we perceived a little black cloud rising from the NE. About one hour afterward it rose higher and spread broader. Our mate, who knew what it portended, immediately ordered the sails to be furled and the yards lowered; by the time this was done, we could perceive the cloud coming with mighty force and the sea at a distance rising like the Alps in a mass. It grew terrible dark as it approached, with all the other signs of terror. It was immediately ordered all hands upon deck and with much difficulty 7 came, the rest not being able or willing. We then shut all the hatches very close and secured the boat. The sea now began to be very high, and there was nothing but terror before us: large huge waves breaking over our stern and mizzen mast; our men crying to one another, but not a word to be heard, except they came close to one another's ears and whispered. At last there came a wave, like a mountain, which washed over our main top [shrouds] and brought the ship on her board side. At the same time ballast, goods and all shifted in the hold. Our ship lying on her broad side, made water very fast, and there was no pumping of her, none being able to stand upon deck. At last, with much difficulty, we got 2 men lashed fast to the pump to relieve one another. We had not now much hope of our lives but, relying on Providence, the carpenter was ordered to cut away the mizzen mast, which, done, we thought to have likewise cut the main mast, but before they set about it, the violence of the wind blew it off and the main yard, which fell directly upon the gunnel and almost shattered it to pieces. It was indeed very terrible now to see our ship, without either mast or sails, exposed to the violence of a raging sea, and so few hands able to work, so that had it not been the Providence of almighty God, we had all certainly perished. While the carpenter stood ready with his axe, there came a terrible wave, which washed him and 2 others overboard, but they were all 3 taken up alive. This tempest continued from 8 in the morning until 4 in the afternoon, but the height of it did not continue above 3 hours. About 5 we went down to the hold, where we found it much better than expectation, there being not above 2

foot of water in it, but the goods were much damaged. The ship lay all this time on her broad side, so that there was no standing; however, we shifted as well as we could the goods and ballast, and brought the ship a little to rights. Next morning proved a fine day, but it was very dismal to see our ship destitute of masts and sails, we not knowing how far we might be from any land. In the place of a main mast, we set up one old foretop mast, and for the mizzen one oar. We got old rotten remnants of sails in the hold and patched them up as well as we could, and after this manner we continued until the end of our voyage.

About 4 days after this we met a sloop in as bad a condition as ourselves, if not worse. She had met with a violent storm in the month of August, by which she lost her mast and her upper deck and cabin, with the supercargo in it. They had neither compass nor quadrant aboard and, having lost their rudder, were obliged to let her drive as the winds permitted. They had come from New England and bound for Jamaica. We spared them a compass and quadrant, for which our Captain got 8 barrels of flour and 6 firkins of butter. The weather continued very good and on Sunday,

September 29, we got soundings in 34 fathom water. About 5 afternoon we got sight of North Carolina, which was very acceptable to us, we not having seen land this 6 months and more. This day one of our men fell overboard and one died. Here we anchored 2 days, in which time we run a great hazard of our lives, for there happened at this time to be a Bristol ship and a Maryland ship riding along with us: the Maryland ship had come from Jamaica load with rum, sugar and molasses. The Bristol man came from Guinea but had disposed of his slaves in Barbadoes, and was bound homeward with a cargo of sugar. He had lost all of his men but 5 hands, and this Maryland ship was to conduct him to Virginia, where he was to get more hands and provisions. Our Captain went aboard to see him and there got himself very drunk. It being late at night when he came aboard and high sea, we could not get our boat hoisted in, which occasioned its being lost, for all night the sea was rough and next morning about 10 she was staved to pieces. The weather continued very tempestuous all that day, which forced the Maryland ship to slip her anchor, but the Bristol man and we still kept fast until about 12 at night, when the Bristol ship slipped likewise. Now, if she had struck on our vessel, it had been perhaps the loss of both ships, to save which we were just going to cut our cable, and had already cut it half through when the ship drove by us about 6 yards, and the wind being right on shore, forced the ship against a hard beach, where she was staved to pieces and all in her perished, they being fast asleep when she slipped her anchor. We had gone the same way had it not been for the toughness of our ropes.

Next day the wind proved fair and we weighed anchor and sailed along the coast toward Virginia; but we happened in the night time to sail by the Capes and the wind afterward turning N, we could not get back again. Here we met with an English ship bound for Maryland, from whom we got some fresh provisions, but our gums were so swelled with the scurvy

we could scarce eat them. We continued about 2 days, and the third the wind turning fair, we got into the Capes, where, to complete our misfortunes, our Captain through his rashness run the ship aground in the bay, where she still continues without any hope of getting her off. Our whole crew were 19 when we came from Scotland and there are but 14 alive. Thus ends this tedious voyage, which continued 6 months and 17 days, we having come from Scotland April 4, 1728, and entered the Capes of Virginia October 21, 1728.

Cunningham made his way to Williamsburg. The capital town, however, was no place for an impecunious Scot, he thought, even though he could draw on his father for funds and had introductions to such fellow-Scots in that part of Virginia as Alexander Mackenzie of Hampton and Dr. James Blair of the College of William and Mary. In and near this village of "at most" sixty families, Adam wrote his father in 1729, there were "no less than 25 or 30 phisitians, and of that number not above 2 capable of living handsomly." More than this, he went on, the Williamsburg inns, where a bachelor must live, charged exorbitant prices, so that he could not afford to tarry. Accordingly, after providing himself with a stock of medicines, Cunningham travelled "up the country a considerable way," surveying prospects for practice in each county, but everywhere he "either found the parts provided with phisitians or so poor as not [to be] able to maintain one." It was the same story in Maryland. Despairing of establishing himself in America, on Dr. Blair's advice he decided to return to Scotland. Within a few days of the time he was to sail (as ship's surgeon on a vessel leaving the Rappahannock), Cunningham was stricken by an ague. On his recovery he journeyed up the river once more and settled near the Bristol Iron Works in King George's County. It was the sickly season, and he expected business would be brisk.⁴

At the Bristol Iron Works Cunningham was at least busy, even if he did not prosper.

As to my affairs in relation to physick, I cannot much complain, [he told his father in 1730], for I could have works enough of charity, to perform that way almost every day in the year, and indeed I cannot see a poor planter asking my advice or begging my medicines, without being touched with pity, and freely give him away the drugs that have cost me above

⁴ Adam Cunningham to Sir William Cunningham, King George's County, Va., August 2, 1729.

150 per cent in this country. I must own I do my endeavor to make it up with the richer sort, but these gentlemen are so very careful not to fall sick, as I almost despair of making any thing of them. This is indeed, Sir, the truth of the matter, and in my humble opinion there is no way of making money in this country so easy as by merchandizing, this being the occupation they all come at, for after they have purchased a little stock by their practice, they presently commence merchants, and so make their fortune. So that if Doctor Blair, Colonel McKenzie, and many others whom I could name have made their fortunes in this country, it is not to be attributed to their practice in physick but to traffick.⁸

Neither by physick nor traffick did Cunningham make his fortune. When he quit Virginia and returned home is not known. But from Newcastle-upon-Tyne, travelling from London to Edinburgh in the late winter of 1735-1736, he wrote his father to beg for money and arrange a secret rendezvous. He was in serious trouble and could not see friends or family. At least Adam spoke of his going abroad again as being for his father's honor and his own safety, and he expressed the hope that he might "be transported from Port Glasgow to some of the foreign plantations where I may pass the remainder of my days in a sincere repentence of my former folly."⁹

Nothing more than this is known of Adam Cunningham. The family tradition is that he disappeared in Virginia, perhaps after a second passage of the ocean as stormy as the one whose record his family still preserve.

⁸ Same to same, Bristol Mines, Va., May 24, 1730.

⁹ Same to same, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, March 23, 1736.

BLOOMINGDALE, OR MOUNT MILL, QUEEN ANNE'S COUNTY

By SARA SETH CLARK and RAYMOND B. CLARK, JR.

THIS historic two-part connected house, "Mount Mill" (the original name which we will use in this article) or "Bloomingdale," has been called "the most magnificent colonial [*sic*] homestead in Queen Anne's County from an architectural point of view."¹ It is situated on Route 50 about three miles from the once famous port of Queenstown and borders on the Northeast branch of Back Wye River. Built upon a slight rise of ground, "Mount Mill" serenely overlooks the surrounding countryside.

The entrance, approximately one-half mile in length, was at one time bordered by huge cedars, which have been replaced by large maple trees. As one approaches the house the first thing noticed is the unusual two-story octagonal portico. This is the only house in Maryland with such an entrance porch.² On the extreme west side of the house is another attractive one-storey portico. On the rear there is another such hooded porch which has steps leading down to the lawn and the old remnants of a formal garden.

The walls of the main structure are of brick laid in Flemish bond and the mortar is unusually hard. Thomas Johnnings Seth built this part of the house in 1792, which is now the main part of the house. The date "Nov. 1792" is carved on a brick which is about twenty feet above the ground in the northeast corner, doubtless placed there when the house was being built. The walls are finished by a simple cornice, and the roof is pitched very low—a feature of much federal architecture. There are single dormer windows with triangular caps on each end of the central section whose ridge lines line with the ridge of the house. The two broad chimneys are in the center of the house, and extend well

¹ J. M. Hammond, *Colonial Mansions of Maryland and Delaware* (Philadelphia, 1914), p. 211.

² The semi-octagonal two-story portico at Cedar Park, West River, Anne Arundel County, is of Victorian vintage. Courtesy of Mr. Bryden B. Hyde.

above the roofline. Instead of being placed at the end of the house as is usual in Maryland they allow for fireplaces on interior walls.³

The original house at Mount Mill, built about 1684, was a tiny brick structure, directly behind what is now known as the "old wing," which houses the dining room and kitchens today and was the second building on the property, probably erected during the late occupancy of Jacobus Seth. Family fortunes had improved and the size of the family made it necessary to have more living space. The original structure was then used as a kitchen. The "old wing" was constructed of brick and was ornamented with an unusual triple window in the second story, probably drawing its inspiration from the Palladian window so popular in Philadelphia and Maryland. This idea was conceived from importation of English design books by Isaac Ware, Thomas Swan, and John Gibbs. The rooms have low ceilings and squat fireplaces, the latter designed more for use than ornament. The walls were plastered directly on the bricks.

As in many houses there is a passageway connecting the 1695 and 1792, or the "old" and the "new" sections of Mount Mill. There is a wall above the doorway in the connecting passage which rises to the height of two-stories in the front and slopes off to a one-story level in the rear. Above the door are two arched recesses, in brick, which simulate windows, attempting to repeat the Palladian window effect used in the "old" wing. The doorway is distinguished by a peaked hood supported by iron brackets and embellished by wrought iron scrolled work.

The spacious hall, thirteen by thirty-seven feet in size, in the new section of Mount Mill is an outstanding feature of the first floor plan. It extends from the middle of the entrance facade through the house to the back or garden side. Off the back hall is a stair hall, separated only by a gracefully carved arch with a beaded oval in the center of the soffit supporting a hook from which an old light hung. The front door has a semi-circular bend and transom. The transom and sidelights have a delicate tracery of leading, still surviving, decorated with swags and stylized flowers. This work is similar to the fine and delicate work done on exteriors and interiors of Lemon Hill, built in 1799 by James

³ Katherine Scarborough, *Homes of the Cavaliers* (New York, 1930), p. 251.

Pratt, in Fairmount Park, Philadelphia, and which copied the earlier home on the same spot built by Robert Morris, well-known financier and land speculator.

The cornice and chair rails are plain. Painted white, they make a contrast to the soft yellow of the plastered walls. The sides of the stairway are enclosed by five vertically graduated panels. The stair of wide, gently rising steps at the right of the L-hall is broken in its flight to the second floor by two landings. The square balusters are placed two to a tread. The ends of the steps are carved in a double scroll design in high relief. The mahogany hand rail ends in a graceful newel post. A half handrail, on the wall side, adds another refinement to an already delicate treatment of the stair passage. In the photograph one can see the side door which opens onto the very attractive double-arched side portico.

Doubtless this lovely hall of ample proportions was the spot chosen as a family sitting room in warm weather as the three doors and wide stairwell provided plenty of ventilation. Dr. Abbott Lowell Cummings has studied the usage of colonial rooms and confirms the value of the hall as a sitting room rather than the more formal parlors.⁴

The first floor of the new section of the house, in addition to the ample hall, contains a drawing room to the left of the entrance and a sitting room to the right. Behind the sitting room is the library. It is quite possible that one of these rooms may have served as a downstairs bedroom during the years of the Seth family occupancy.

The outstanding decorative features of these rooms are the delicately carved five-foot high mantelpieces. Those in the two larger parlors have two fluted columns topped by pointed and semi-circular carved panels flanking tiny diamond and circle beading which runs the length of the mantel shelf. Oval medallions are carved in the central frieze of both. On the sides of the two mantels are two recessed arches with reeded trim and keystone. The jambs contain cupboards. The library, like the room above it has a plainer mantel treatment, the main decoration deriving from crosseted corners, a device frequently appearing in the carpenter pattern manual books which copied English and Italian designs.

⁴ Lecture of Dr. Abbott Lowell Cummings, Assistant Curator of the American Wing, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, entitled "How Our Forebears Furnished Their Homes," January 13, 1955, at the Maryland Historical Society.

Both parlors have four regularly spaced windows, two on each side, which are plainly trimmed and fitted with inside paneled shutters which extend from the window head to the floor. It is doubtful if elaborate hangings were used with such an arrangement. All the doors in this section of the house are six paneled, sometimes called "witches" doors. As in the hall, the rooms have a plain cornice, which give the proper balance to the high-ceilinged rooms. The walls, again, are plastered.

The second floor has four bedrooms duplicating the arrangement of the first floor with a small room over the front part of the wide hall. The two larger bedrooms have carved mantelpieces while the smaller chamber over the library has a much simpler paneling over the fireplace which is flanked by cupboards. This may indicate that the room was intended as a linen room. The third floor, also has a wide hall, two finished rooms, both of which have a dormer window and three storage rooms. It has been suggested that these rooms may have been used as quarters for the house slaves. Thus, this section of the house has nine good-sized rooms, three storage rooms, an entrance and stair hall, and two other halls.

There are three separate unconnected cellars under the house. In the main section the cellar is divided into rooms exactly like those of the first floor and has fireplaces and brick floors. One can only speculate that much cooking, spinning, and weaving was done in these rooms by the slaves. There are the remains of an early furnace that an owner about sixty years ago installed.

A short distance from the house was a plain brick building with sixteen windows which was the old slave quarter, some of the foundations of which still remain. This has since been torn down but was seen by one of the co-authors in her youth. Thomas Johnnings Seth, the last of the Seths to own Mount Mill, manumitted his slaves before his death.

On January 16, 1685, Peter Sayer deeded to Jacobus Seth this tract of land which was to be his permanent home and which was to be owned by his descendants for nearly 200 years.⁵ This tract was granted to Robert Morris by letters and patents from Lord Baltimore September 12, 1665.

The biography of Jacobus Seth, who called himself "Jacob"

⁵ Talbot County Land Records, Liber 5, f. 12.

after his naturalization, prior to his purchase of Mount Mill is both interesting and intriguing. He is first known as a resident of Delaware.⁶

Two leagues from Cape Cornelius on the west side of the river near its mouth there is a certain creek called Hoern Kill, which may well pass for a middling or small river, for it is navigable a great way upwards . . . Channel at fort is wide and near the fort is a glorious spring of fresh water . . . running down to Hoern Kill or Harlot's Creek.⁷

The Dutch continued to claim the territory of Delaware. In 1630 one David de Vries built a fort within the capes of the Delaware on the west about two leagues from Cape Cornelius at the place now Lewis Town, then called by the name of Hoern Kill.⁸

Whether Swede or Dutch, Jacobus Seth is first a native of Delaware when his name appears on an appended list of settlers in Hoern Kill noted by the historian Scharf as belonging to the company in Delaware in 1676-1677. Captain Edmond Cantwell of New Castle obtained land patents for them. Jacobus Seth received five hundred acres.⁹ He was also the recipient of a grant of land from the Duke of York called "Timber Ridge"¹⁰ which comprised five hundred acres and was situated near the little village of Midway which is verified by a person who has surveyed much of the land in that section.¹¹

Jacobus Seth and his wife, Margaret, left Delaware and came to the province of Maryland.¹² He bought a tract of one hundred acres in Dorchester County called "Huntingfield," from John Richardson and his wife, Susan. This tract was on the "south side of the great Choptank" and on the south side of a creek called Coquiaco Creek, near the land of Major Smithson's.¹³ After the death of Jacobus Seth the Dorchester land records indicate his daughter Mary Seth, had inherited the property.¹⁴

⁶ Samuel Smith, *The History of . . . New Jersey* (Burlington, 1765), p. 58. This source seems to think Jacobus Seth came over as early as 1627 with the early settlement.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 57.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 22.

⁹ Scharf, *History of Delaware* (Philadelphia, 1888), II, 1202.

¹⁰ *Original Land Titles in Delaware . . . The Duke of York Records . . .* (Wilmington, 1890), p. 175.

¹¹ Letter, Wm. Mustard to Gen. Joseph B. Seth, June 29, 1903.

¹² Maryland Early Settlers List, Land Office, Annapolis, Liber 15, f. 518.

¹³ Dorchester Co. Land Records, Liber Old No. 3, f. 77.

¹⁴ Rent Rolls, Dorchester Co., 1659-1723, Calvert Papers No. 885, p. 284.

After the death of his first wife (before 1679)¹⁵ he married Barbara Beckwith, daughter of Captain George Beckwith and his wife, Frances Harvey. Captain Beckwith died in London and his wife died on their plantation in St. Mary's County without learning of her husband's death. This circumstance gave credence to the ghostly tale about St. Joseph's Manor in which Barbara's mother's ghost arose from her grave, walked to the shore, and was met by her husband who had sailed up the river on a phantom ship. The two figures embraced, and then both vanished.¹⁶ The two estates were settled at the same time, and the inventory showed they were people of culture and learning by the number and quality of the furnishings and the unusual number of books—a great number to be owned by a family in that period.¹⁷

The Beckwiths had lived on the estate Frances had inherited as sole heir of her father, Nicholas Harvey,¹⁸ who is listed as one of the passengers of the *Ark* or the *Dove*.¹⁹ He received a grant from Lord Baltimore and was "Lord of St. Joseph's Manor" which consisted of one thousand acres in St. Mary's County, surveyed December, 1642, with full manorial rights and privileges of Court Baron and Court Leet.²⁰ He also received one of the early commissions from Lord Baltimore to take a company of not less than twelve men (English), fully armed, and to go against the Marquantequats if necessary.²¹

Jacobus Seth was naturalized in 1684 probably with Peter Bayard and other migrating from Swedish Delaware to Maryland. It is highly probable that Jacobus Seth dropped the prefix "von" from his name then.²²

With his family Jacobus came to Talbot County from Dorchester and on November 14, 1684, bought from Francis Shepeard and his wife Hannah, for "four thousand five hundred pounds of merchantable tobacco in casque" a tract of land known as

¹⁵ Testamentary Proceeding, Hall of Records, Annapolis, II, f. 271. November, 1679, Barbara Beckwith, wife of Jacobus Seth, one of the orphans of George and Frances Beckwith, receives her share of estate of father.

¹⁶ Ghost story written by Paul Beckwith and published in a Washington paper.

¹⁷ Harry Wright Newman (ed.), *Seignior in Early Maryland* (1949), p. 43.

¹⁸ Will of Nicholas Harvey. Maryland Wills, Liber 1, f. 11, Hall of Records, Annapolis.

¹⁹ G. N. MacKenzie, *Colonial Families*, V (Baltimore, 1915), 293.

²⁰ H. D. Richardson, *Side Lights on Maryland History* (Baltimore, 1913), I, 264.

²¹ *Archives of Maryland*, II, 87.

²² Laws of Maryland (Recorded), Liber W. H. (1640-1688), Acts of 1684, f. 275, Hall of Records, Annapolis.

"Shepherd's Discovery." It was situated on the south side of a creek called Jones and consisted of two hundred acres of land on the Chester River in Talbot County alongside a parcel of land called "Ewing Field." Likewise the same day he purchased this tract called "Ewing Field" which also consisted of two hundred acres from the Shepherds' for the same amount.²³

The acquisition of the tract of Mount Mill by the Seths came in 1685 indicating they lived on the Chester River property but a month or so. The name Mount Mill was probably derived from the fact that there was a mill on the property. The Miller's House is a gambrel-roofed brick house which is still standing. This mill was operated by the Seth family for many years and was known as Seth's Mill. Frederic Emory's *Queen Anne's County*, and W. H. DeCoursey Wright Thom and Dr. Elizabeth Merritt's monographs on Old Wye Church refer quite often to the old Seth Mill.

After Jacobus Seth's death, the mill passed to the various Seth descendants and several land records indicate that the mill was operated directly, leased, or mortgaged as a business venture. Thomas Johnnings Seth in 1796, bought one and a half acres from William Hemsely (part of the "Cloverfield" tract) for twenty pounds next to his mill which was on the north side of the road from Seth's Mill to Wye Mill.²⁴ Seth's Mill was often used as a boundary in land transactions.²⁵

On June 14, 1684, Jacob and his wife, Barbara B. Seth, sold William Younge, "Carpenter," thirty-three acres, a part of the tract of Mount Mill for 600 pounds of tobacco.²⁶ The next addition to the tract of Mount Mill that finally comprised a thousand acres was made when James Sedgwick sold Jacob Seth a tract of land named "Hackney Marsh" for seven thousand pounds of tobacco on July 16, 1684. This land was situated on the Wye River in the woods near Thomas' Branch and bounded on one side by the Mount Mill tract and on the other side by William Younge's land, "Middle Plantation."²⁷

More than ten years later, on August 17, 1697, Jacobus Seth

²³ Talbot County Land Records, Liber 1, f. 361.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, f. 362. Also Queen Anne's Co. Land Records, Liber S. T. W. No. 4, f. 399.

²⁵ Frederic Emory, *Queen Anne's County, Maryland* (Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society, 1950), p. 20, 27, 197.

²⁶ Talbot County Land Records, Liber 4, f. 304.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, f. 292.

purchased two more tracts of land. The first was "Jackson's Choice" bought from Richard Jackson and wife Lettice for 5,000 pounds of tobacco. This was in Talbot County "at the mouth of John Jenkins Creek to the Bay Side and bounded by said Bay" and contained fifty acres.²⁸ The same day, Peter Sayer and his wife, Frances record the sale of a tract of land to Jacob Seth for 5,000 pounds of tobacco. This Plantation named "Hogg's Hole" contained one hundred acres and was described as being "on the Eastern Shore on the North side of a creek called Jenkins Creek."²⁹

This seems to be the last land bought by Jacobus Seth. However, in his will is the following:

I leave to my executrix if she shall agree with Mr. Blake to make tobacco for the land I bought of Colonel Peter Sewell which was according to Mr. Blake's own offer. The land was standing in six thousand pounds of tobacco and so it is shall be stricken off ye docket.

His will was dated December 22, 1697. He devised a large bequest to "my beloved fathers, ye five priests" and asked that "a priest be procured to officiate at his funeral, if possible."³⁰

His elder son, John, was to receive the estate of Mount Mill and his son Charles the two properties on the Chester River. If John Seth died without heirs, Charles was to receive Mount Mill and those plantations bequeathed to Charles were to be the property of his daughters, Jane and Susannah. He was correct in his surmise for his son John Seth died young and the estate of Mount Mill became the property of Charles Seth. Jacob's daughter by his first wife, Mary, received his holdings in Dorchester, 2,000 pounds of tobacco and seven years rent free on the plantation where she then lived.³¹

The inventories and accounts settling Jacob Seth's estate make interesting reading, especially when they listed the mourning clothes for the children and the quantity of the liquid refreshments purchased for the funeral. Such occasions were great ceremonies and opportunities for much eating and drinking. Also in

²⁸ *Ibid.*, f. 251.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, Liber 7, f. 251.

³⁰ Will of Jacobus Seth, Talbot County Wills, Box 21, folder 15, Hall of Records, Annapolis.

³¹ *Ibid.*

the inventory were "books" belonging to Jacob written "in the Dutch language."³²

Jacob Seth's son Charles when 14 was ordered by the court to be apprenticed to a ship carpenter, to learn a trade, which was the custom in colonial days. Charles Seth married Elizabeth Jennings who survived him and later married Nathaniel Connor. Charles Seth's will, dated April 23, 1737, was probated June 12th of the same year. He devised his Mount Mill property and surroundings to be divided among his four sons, John, James, Charles, and Jacob, who were the third generation of Seth owners of the property.³³

Thus began the subdivision of the Mount Mill property which had taken Jacobus Seth some twenty years to amass. The division meant that each of the four sons received approximately 112 acres and is shown in indentures given from one brother to another. The part containing the manor house was in the end acquired by Jacob Seth.

James Seth, a ship joiner of Philadelphia, and his wife Anne deeded his portion of the lands left him by his father, Charles Seth, consisting of parts of "Benett's Outlet" (once Hackney Marsh and Hogg's Hole), Mount Mill and the "Addition" to his brother Charles Seth, a planter in Queen Anne's County, on January 12, 1753, for 116 pounds.³⁴

John Seth sold his legacy to Edward Neale of Queen Anne's County. An agreement was signed August 30, 1759, for John's share of Mount Mill consisting of 112½ acres, with the appurtenances and the water mill, for 191 pounds, fourteen shillings, eight pence. They received the "Gears the Stones . . ." for four pounds current money if they paid the original price and interest by July 24, 1762. Edward Neale died and this contract was inherited by his daughter Martha who had married Francis Hall. The Halls sold the property back to John Seth and his wife Lucy, February 9, 1768.³⁵

Two days later, February 11, 1768, records substantiate the sale of this same property, houses, water mills, water courses, etc., containing 112 acres of the tract called "Mount Mill" from

³² Talbot County Inventories, Liber J. B. #1, f. 378.

³³ Queen Anne's County Wills, Box 11, Folder 50, Hall of Records, Annapolis.

³⁴ Queen Anne's Co. Land Record, Liber R. T. #D, f. 128.

³⁵ *Ibid.*

John Seth to his brother, Jacob, for 770 pounds. It was described as "beginning at a bounded cherry tree and running to the western end of the old house [the oldest building on the property] and near the graveyard . . . and from thence to that part of the plantation owned by Charles Seth."³⁶

There were many sales of portions of the large estate and related properties, with houses, house gardens, orchard trees, timber trees, fences, water mills, ways, water and water courses, and after many such transactions over a period of a few years Jacob Seth subsequently became the owner of the majority of the land in the original Mount Mill tract owned by his father, Charles Seth, son of the immigrant, Jacobus Seth.³⁷

From all indications Jacob Seth lived at Mount Mill. He died in 1773 (his will has not been located). There is an interesting Bill of Sale presented by George Durham, Cordwainer, for nine pounds current money for the following supplies at Mount Mill:

3 pewter dishes, 3 pewter plates, 3 pewter basons, 8 bed and 3 blankets, 2 bedsteads, 2 tables, 1 desk, 2 large chests, 9 chairs, 1 pot and 2 pans, 2 flour tubs, pot hooks, 1 frying pan, 1 pair flat irons, 1 box iron and heaters, 1 pale, 1 peggin, 1 washing tub, 6 tea-cups and saucers, 13 china plates, 2 pots, 1 china bowl, 1 china butter tub, 1 china salt cellar, 2 men's saddles, 21 books, 1 quart jug, 1 eathen bowl, 1 spinning wheel, 1 galoon jug, 2 quart jugs, 3 wooden bowls, 1 small fat pot, 1 small white mare.³⁸

One has only to surmise from the mixture of ordinary with the finer the scale of living of the Seths at Mount Mill. Cheaper pewter and earthenware is purchased as is the more elegant china. Unfortunately the tables, desk, and chairs are not listed with descriptions, for they were probably Baltimore or Philadelphia Chippendale pieces.

Queen Anne's County land records show that Jacob Seth, millwright, paid Joseph Nicholson, the Younger, attorney-at-law, of Kent County, and Elizabeth his wife, 525 pounds for a parcel of land, part of two tracts—"Green Spring" and "Paxton's Lott" on the branches of the Wye River in Queen Anne's County, in 1768.³⁹

Jacob Seth took quite a prominent part in county and church

³⁶ *Ibid.*, Liber R. T. #H, ff. 161-162.

³⁷ Swepson Earle, *Maryland's Colonial Eastern Shore* (Baltimore, 1916), p. 128.

³⁸ Queen Anne's Co. Land Records, Liber S. T. W. #1, ff. 361-362.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, Liber R. T. #H, ff. 249-250.

work as is evidenced by the following references from Emory's *Queen Anne's County*. Jacob Seth was listed as a Vestryman of Wye Church on March 27, 1769, and of signing an agreement for construction, already begun, to the old church on April 8, 1771. His name is listed in a record of church wardens of St. Paul's Parish, which records his death in 1773.⁴⁰

Mount Mill was inherited by Thomas Johnnings (Jennings) Seth, son and heir-at-law of Jacob Seth, Gentleman, of Queen Anne's County.⁴¹ It was this owner who was responsible for having the "new" section or the main part of the present structure built in 1792. There are records which show that he sold to Edward Harris, on November 5, 1791, for 2,000 pounds, 345 acres consisting of "Green Springs" and "Paxton's Lott."⁴² Rachel Clayland bequeathed to her daughter, Margaret Seth (then Margaret Chatham) two parts of two tracts of land—"Mary's Portion" and "Exchange." Records show this and the fact that Thomas Johnnings Seth and Margaret convey this same land to Phillip Feddeman, for 500 pounds current money.⁴³

An act of January 15, 1799, authorized Richard Thomas, William Hopper, Thomas Wright, of Thomas, and Thomas Johnnings Seth of Queen Anne's County to raise by lottery a sum of money to refund certain monies advanced for building old Chester Church and repairing Wye Chapel.⁴⁴

The next change in the ownership of the house occurred in 1817 when William H. Blake, Mary his wife, and John S. Blake of Queen Anne's County convey to Dr. Edward Harris of Baltimore a tract of land called Mount Mill. Mary Blake was the widow of Thomas Johnnings Seth and his second wife, and was entitled to dower rights and one-third of the land. William Blake conveyed his rights and title to John S. Blake. All three aforesaid sell for \$1,000 to Dr. Harris.⁴⁵ Some sources quote Chancery Records for this transaction but they have not been found.⁴⁶

The next period of years were undoubtedly the gayest and happiest the old house had ever known. The Harris family enter-

⁴⁰ Emory, *op. cit.*, pp. 171-173.

⁴¹ Queen Anne's County Land Records, Liber S. T. W. #1, ff. 362-365.

⁴² *Ibid.*, Liber S. T. W. #2, f. 176.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, f. 155.

⁴⁴ Emory, *op. cit.*, pp. 180-181.

⁴⁵ Queen Anne's County Land Records, Liber T. M. #1, ff. 496-497.

⁴⁶ Earle, *op. cit.*, p. 128.

tained lavishly and the house rang with dance music and the bright and happy voices of many young people. There are many references to the two beautiful sisters, Mary and Sallie. They were contemporaries of the three beautiful Caton sisters (each of whom married an English lord) and rivaled them in beauty and charm.

Of the two sisters, Sallie was more sprightly and vivacious. She had many suitors and spurned them all. Once after a ball at Wye Hall, the Queen Anne's County home of William Paca, Miss Sallie penned some lines which live until this day. They are of no literary merit, but perhaps serve to illustrate the simple habits of an earlier era. Of the ball she wrote:

Wend ye to tha Hall tonight
All the belles and beaux are going,
Mary with her bright brown hair,
Hazel eyes and cheeks so glowing.
The belles of Wye, too, will be there,
One is tall, the other winning,
Both are matchless in their form;
They will dance like tops-a-spinning.

She wrote of herself and sister Mary:

There are other dames I'd quite forgot
For they're grown staid and sober,
One takes snuff but the t'other don't
Although she's two years older.⁴⁷

This is what Severn Teackle Wallis, a later owner of Mount Mill and nephew of Miss Sallie Harris said of her:

She was one of the most brilliant ornaments of the society of Baltimore City at a period when it was more remarkable than ever since for its beauty, cleverness, social, and intellectual accomplishments.⁴⁸

In proper setting for the Harris girls, and equally fitting with the delicate paneling with its restraint so characteristic of the Federal or "classical" style, is an elegant mahogany "Lady's Desk" undoubtedly of Baltimore origin that was owned by the Harris family at Mount Mill. This piece is now owned by the Metropolitan Museum of Art of New York and is a key classical piece of furniture. The desk presents an interesting combination

⁴⁷ Anne H. Wharton, *Social Life in the Early Republic* (Philadelphia, 1902), pp. 215-216.

⁴⁸ F. S. McGrath, *Pillars of Maryland* (Richmond, 1950), p. 527.

of several designs from Thomas Sheraton's *Cabinet Maker's and Upholsterer's Drawing Book*, first published in London in 1793. The cylinder or roll top lid conceals a pull-out writing slide with an adjustable reading stand. The doors of the secretary part conceal small drawers and compartments that are framed with cross-banding of light wood. Seven painted eglomisé glass panels, five oval, and two diamond-shaped, represent religious and allegorical figures reflecting the height of the classical style upon decorative taste as first dictated by the designs of Robert Adam in England in the early 1760s. Those panels on the secretary depict the goddesses Temperance and Justice.⁴⁹

The will of Dr. Edward Harris which named Mary and Sallie as his executors, was made March 17, 1835. He devised an annuity of \$250 to Mary and Sallie during the life or widowhood of his wife, Sarah, and at her death, the entire estate to be left to his two daughters. His son, Edward, was to receive \$250 annuity from farms on Wye, or Bordley's Island, and he was to have a home with his mother or sisters if he so desired.⁵⁰

The years passed and after the death of their mother, and a long and happy life with many suitors the famous Harris sisters shut themselves up in the old wing at Mount Mill and became recluses. Sally, always the more aggressive of the two, seemed to have more business acumen, and the estate and the mill were known as the "Sallie Harris land and mill."

Legend has it that Mount Mill like many colonial homesteads, possessed a ghost. Its one appearance occurred in 1879 when Miss Nancy DeCoursey, was visiting Miss Sallie Harris. After they had retired for the night they heard a knock at the front door. Accompanied by a servant they went to investigate and found a ghostly figure on the threshold. The phantom spirit resembled the form of William Sterett, Miss Harris's nephew, who had drowned in the old mill race. The ghost led them down the hall and up the stairs to the room the nephews had occupied when alive. The figure passed through the locked door, but when Miss Sallie and her guest unlocked the door, they found only a rumpled bed to show any signs of occupancy.⁵¹

⁴⁹ *Baltimore Furniture: The Work of Baltimore and Annapolis Cabinetmakers from 1760 to 1810* (Baltimore, 1947), No. 77.

⁵⁰ Queen Anne's Co. Wills, Liber, T. C. E. #2, ff. 72-76.

⁵¹ Hammond, *op. cit.*, pp. 214-215.

During the lifetime of the Harris sisters the name of the estate was changed from Mount Mill to Bloomingdale. The sisters were famous for their church work, their charities, and their hospitality. The will of Miss Sallie Harris was probated May 5, 1880. She devised all to her sister, Mary, should she survive her. Legacies were made to her great nephew, James William Sterett and his sister Sallie E. Littig, which consisted of a farm called the "Church Farm" (near the Catholic Church) and on the left of the new road to Centreville. She bequeathed the remainder of her property (on the right of the Centreville road)—all she possessed including mansion house, tenant house, all buildings, improvements, furniture, plate, stock, and personal estate, mill, and mill seat adjoining Bloomingdale on opposite side of road, to her friend and relative, Severn Teackle Wallis, of Baltimore, at the death of her sister Mary, and paying all other legacies. She desired that her executor, Mr. Wallis, invest such an amount of her personal estate to make secure the servants who had formerly been slaves.⁵²

Severn Teackle Wallis is well known to Marylanders. He was honored abroad for his scholastic abilities and was prominent in civic affairs in Baltimore, where a statue was erected in his honor. Graduated from college at sixteen, he completed his law course at nineteen and practiced law although he could not be admitted to the Bar until he was twenty-one.

Trying to prevent the Civil War, he was one of the members of the Legislature who protested to President Lincoln against the passage of troops through Baltimore. Later he was arrested with other members in order to prevent the secession of the State from the Union. Imprisoned for months, he declined to take certain oaths submitted to him as the price of freedom and lost his health in consequence.⁵³ Late in life he served as President of the Maryland Historical Society.

Wallis on January 28, 1892, sold Bloomingdale where he had frequently entertained Baltimore society, to his nephew, John Mather Wallis but he retained a mortgage securing the sum of \$23,712.19, the balance of the purchase price.⁵⁴ However, Wallis died intestate in April, 1894, and John Mather Wallis sold the

⁵² Queen Anne's Co. Wills, Liber W. A. J. #1, ff. 304-312.

⁵³ Scarborough, *op. cit.*, pp. 253-254.

⁵⁴ Queen Anne's Co. Land Records, Liber L. D. #1, f. 253.

property to John S. Wallis to satisfy the mortgage by order of the executors of the estate of Severn Teackle Wallis. On July 8, 1898, James Mather Wallis deeded to Hiram S. Dudley for \$18,000 Bloomingdale, consisting of 634 acres and 39 perches of land and being the same tract granted and conveyed by John Mather Wallis and wife to John S. Wallis, subject to an agreement of December 2, 1895.⁵⁵

The Dudley estate owned the property until April 17, 1952, when it was purchased by Gordon L. Shawn and his wife, Corrine, from Hiram G. Dudley, and others as Trustees for their late father and mother's estates. The acreage and boundaries were the same as have been previously mentioned.

This ancient homestead has had many owners and has withstood the elements for many years. It is a fitting monument to the skillful artisans of earlier days that they built in such a manner so that the beauty and dignity of colonial and federal styles can be preserved in a more modern age.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, Liber W. H. C. #8, ff. 121-126; Liber W. H. C. #6, f. 147; Liber W. H. C. #3, f. 457; Liber T. S. P. #4, ff. 428-431.

JOHN EDMONDSON—LARGE MERCHANT OF TRED HAVEN CREEK

By FRANK B. EDMUNDSON and EMERSON B. ROBERTS *

PERHAPS there was none among the early immigrants to Maryland whose interests were more diversified, certainly there were few whose property was of greater extent, than that of John Edmondson, Quaker merchant of Talbot County. In his day he was among the largest, if not the largest, landholder on the Eastern Shore, a buyer and seller of land whose name appears more frequently than that of any other private citizen in the Maryland public records of the 17th century, a road builder, a ship builder, and an importer and exporter through whose warehouses passed goods in great quantity. He represented Talbot in the Assembly for a number of years.

While John Edmondson has many descendants in Maryland, Delaware, and elsewhere, and while the public and Quaker records are replete with his transactions, strangely, no memoir of him has been printed. The authors of this article, neither of whom is a descendant, but both of whom have a deep interest in local history—particularly of Quaker interest—wish to acknowledge the great collection of memoranda drawn from the records during a long period of years by the late J. Hooper Edmondson of Baltimore. In addition the authors have on their own account examined original records in Maryland, Delaware, Pennsylvania, New York, the Barbadoes, England, and Ireland. In their view little further is to be gleaned and the time is at hand when what is known should be recorded lest this honorable Quaker gentleman wait another three centuries for more worthy biographers who may find old records even more obscure and further deteriorated than the present authors have found them to be.¹

* Both of the authors passed away after this article was submitted. While no consultation with the authors was possible, it has been thought advisable to print their interesting article.—*Ed.*

¹ Acknowledgment is made for assistance received from Friends' Historical Library at Haverford College; Swarthmore College; Albert Cook Myers, Moylan, Pa.; Miss Isabel Grubb, of Ireland; Hall of Records, Annapolis; Hall of Records, Dover, Del.; Historical Society of Pennsylvania; and Maryland Historical Society.

"We are Englishmen ourselves and free born" testified John Edmondson with William Berry and Richard Johns in 1681, in petitioning for a modification of the law on the taking of oaths, though in scorn commonly called Quakers . . . so far from desiring the least breach of Magna Charta or of the least privileges belonging to a free-born Englishman, we had rather suffer many more degrees than we do, than willingly admit to the least violation of those ancient rights and liberties which are our birthright and had we not been well assured that our sufferings may be redressed and our requests granted without violating Magna Charta in the least degree, we would not have desired it.²

The English background of John Edmondson of Talbot has been the subject of much surmise but with no certain result. Many have thought him a brother of that William Edmundson, the great Quaker evangelist and apostle who has been called The Hammer of Ireland. The family of the evangelist was of County Westmoreland and this William Edmundson did have a brother John whose baptism is recorded, May 8, 1625, in the Parish of Crosby-Garrett, Little Musgrave, Westmoreland. In his *Journal* William Edmundson says his brother John left England for Ireland in 1653 as a trooper in Cromwell's army and that in Ireland he joined the Society of Friends. The Irish Quaker records frequently refer to him during the remainder of his long life. In 1707 he wrote a letter describing himself as 83 years of age, in poor health, and living in Timahoe, Queen's County, Ireland. So while the query of Colonel Tilghman "was not this John Edmondson, First Quaker of Talbot, related to William Edmundson, the Quaker Evangelist," is not fully answered, this record sets straight those who have too hastily stated that John Edmondson of Talbot was a brother of William Edmundson, the Evangelist. That he was a kinsman, however, and in not distant degree seems highly probable.³

Lest there be confusion with respect to the usage of the *u* and the *o*, let it be recorded that William Edmundson, the Evangelist never spelled his name Edmundson, but his *Journal* was published

² Rufus Jones, *Quakers in American Colonies* (1923), p. 333. See also *Archives of Maryland*, VII, 152-154, and E. D. Neill, *English Colonization of America* (London, 1871), p. 305.

³ *A Journal of the Life . . . of . . . William Edmundson . . .* (London, 1774), 2d edition, pp. 3 ff.; John Rutt, *Rise and Progress of Friends in Ireland* (1751), *passim*; and Oswald Tilghman, *History of Talbot County* (Baltimore, 1915), I, 106.

as "Edmundson's" and since then his descendants have followed the practice.

William Edmundson, the evangelist, visited Talbot in 1671/2 and again in 1675/6. He came first via the Barbadoes and Jamaica landing with the party containing George Fox at the mouth of the Patuxent. After several meetings with Friends there he passed on to Virginia, then returned to Maryland by boat, stayed several meetings on the Western Shore, then passed over the bay to the Eastern Shore, moved north as far as New York, then returning via Delaware Town, then again to the Cliffs in Calvert, then back to the Eastern Shore for many precious meetings, and down the shore to Annessex. In all of this travel he must have visited Talbot meetings and have met John Edmondson but no such record is found in his *Journal*.

John Edmondson, when he came to Maryland, resided first in Calvert County. In 1658 land rights were claimed by Captain John Horne, merchant of London, for the transportation of himself and his servants, Richard Marsham⁴ and John Edmondson.⁵ Within a few years John Edmondson was appearing as attorney in cases at law, and in 1663 represented John Horne in that capacity.⁶

The passage from England to Maryland was via the Barbadoes or John Edmondson visited there extensively on important missions after coming to Maryland. In either case he attained the circumstance and position there that is reflected in the fact that he was subsequently an executor and trustee in important matters including the settlement of the estate of Roger Fretwell, merchant of the Barbadoes, son a Ralph Fretwell, a British judge on the islands. Another prominent citizen of the Barbadoes with whom John Edmondson had close ties of confidence was Francis Gamble of Heathcote Bay. Both Fretwell and Gamble subsequently came to Pennsylvania partly through the influence of John Edmondson. In Pennsylvania they began their operations by founding a trading company known as Gamble and Company, then later The Barbadoes Company, purchasing from John Edmondson in 1685 more than four thousand acres of land in the vicinity of Mispillion

⁴ Query: Was he that Col. Richard Marsham who married as her third husband Ann Calvert, daughter of Gov. Leonard Calvert? See J. W. Thomas, *Chronicles of Colonial Maryland* (Cumberland, 1913), pp. 53 n, 54 n.

⁵ "Early Settlers List," p. 200 (Md. Hist. Soc.).

⁶ *Archives of Maryland*, XLIX, 30.

Hundred, Delaware. Subsequently these and other holdings of The Barbadoes Company were transferred to the Pennsylvania Land Company of London formed in 1679 about the time of the coming of William Penn.⁷ John Edmondson was executor for Edward Gibbon, another representative of the Barbadoes Company.⁸ Considerable correspondence between Fretwell and others and Edmondson touching these matters is in the Delaware Records of Kent County.⁹ About 1694 John Edmondson was visited at his home in Talbot County by two young men, one of them Joseph Growden of the Barbadoes, relative to the settlement of an estate there.¹⁰ Growden in correspondence referred to John Edmondson as an old acquaintance "from whom he was like to get more words than money." Of this particular transaction we have another glimpse. On January 14, 1683, Col. Philemon Lloyd wrote to William Penn,

John Edmondson of our county at whose request I give this assurance, that he, the said Edmonson stands bound to me in the somme of one hundred pounds to secure the payment of fifty pounds bills of Exchange, drawn by William Pickering of yr Province, factor, as I understand, to one Growden upon Mr. Peter Hackworth of London. . . .¹¹

The ties between Edmondson and Fretwell seem to have been close and personal. Fretwell wrote Edmondson from the Barbadoes, 6th of 12th month 1683, "John Edmondson loving friend my true love to thee in the pease of the Lord and to thy family."¹² Then on December 28, 1692, Dorothea Fretwell, widow of Ralph Fretwell, appointed John Edmondson, "merchant attorney," administrator of the estate of her deceased son, Roger.¹³

John Edmondson continued to reside in Calvert County for about five years, and he accumulated considerable property there. By 1663, however, he was beginning to sell his Calvert property and prepare for his removal to Talbot. At the Provincial Court, 4th day of the month August, 1663, he gave power of at-

⁷ Henry C. Conrad, *History of the State of Delaware* (Wilmington, 1908), II, 674.

⁸ MS, Pennsylvania Historical Society, AM 2013, 70-2.

⁹ Delaware Archives, Deeds B-1, 16, 17, 18, 19 and 52.

¹⁰ Nannie Ball Nimmo, "Light on the Family of Gov. Josias Fendall," *Md. Hist. Mag.*, XXXVIII (1943), 283.

¹¹ *Documents Relating to the Colonial History of the State of New York* (Albany, 1877), XII, 631-632.

¹² Del. Arch., Kent County Deed Book, B-130.

¹³ C. H. B. Turner, *Some Records of Sussex County* (Philadelphia, 1909), p. 154.

torney to Richard Collett in all matters touching his interests.¹⁴ On April 15, 1664, Francis Armstrong of the Clifts in Calvert and Frances his wife sold to John Edmondson 350 acres of land called "Sarke" on the south side of the Choptank River. On April 22 of the same year Daniel Jennifer sold to John Edmondson of the Clifts, Calvert, 800 acres in Talbot, a parcel called "Dover." In the deed for "Sarke" John Edmondson is called "Calvert County Merchant."¹⁵ On the 16th of the 3rd month 1665 John Edmondson and Sarah his wife sold two parcels in Calvert through their attorney, Daniel Jenifer.¹⁶ On November 21, 1664, he bought of Francis Armstrong 450 more acres in Talbot called "Jack's Cove." In the same month he bought 200 acres in Third Haven. These transactions mark the decision of John Edmondson to cast his lot on the Eastern Shore.¹⁷ There is the further evidence of his effort at this time to recover what debts were due him in Calvert.¹⁸

From the time of his arrival in Talbot until his death there thirty-four years later his activity was tremendous. The extent of his Maryland land totaled 40,000 acres in Talbot, Dorchester, and Kent, some of it doubtless within the present Queen Anne's and Caroline counties. There is a larger number of land transfers to and from John Edmondson than for any other person in the 17th century in eastern Maryland. In Pennsylvania (now Delaware) between 1673 and 1687 there are recorded twenty-six tracts in total exceeding 27,000 acres.¹⁹ In 1666 John Edmondson and John Pitt

humbly prays the Right Hon. The Lieutenant General to grant Lycence and Commission to trade and traffique with any Indians within the Province for Beaver and Roanoke or other Commodities to the value of two hundred weight of Beaver or other skins and Two Thousand Armes Length of Roanoke. . . . Order that John Pitts and John Edmondson have toleracion lycence and liberty to Commerce and trade with any Indians within this Province Provided they be accomptable for the tenth part of all Beaver so by them traded for, to the Lieutenant General for the time being.²⁰

¹⁴ *Archives of Maryland*, XLIX, 54-55.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 249.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 521.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 408, 534, 535.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 122, 423, 430.

¹⁹ Edmondson acquired more than 110 tracts of land in Maryland.

²⁰ *Archives of Maryland*, III, 555-556.

John Edmondson's wife appears to have been the daughter of the Hon. William Parker, member of the Hanbury Company, and one of the commission government of Maryland (1656).²¹ Parker resided in Calvert County but died in London in 1673.²² His will, dated January 3, 1673/4, mentions his daughter Sarah Edmondson by name.²³

In the public life of the Province John Edmondson played an active part. He was a member of the Lower House in 1676 and in 1678. Being a Quaker he refused to take the oath of office but was seated on his affirmation.²⁴ He was chosen again in 1681, 1685, 1691, and 1692. In 1678 he received payment of tobacco in advance in operations against the Nanticoke Indians. In all these years the reports of the Assembly contain many references to his part in the public deliberations and actions. He appears frequently as attorney prior to 1676. His was important testimony in the consideration of the proceedings of riotous character that took place in the Talbot County Court House and in which his own election was involved.²⁵ He was a "taker-up" of land in the town of Oxford under the Acts both of 1684 and of 1694. Under the latter he became one of the ten commissioners to layout, direct, and create Oxford into a town and port. Subsequently he assigned 100 acres of his Oxford town land for a Commons. In 1689 he was a signer of the Address of Welcome from the Protestants of Talbot on the accession of William and Mary to the Throne.²⁶ In 1689 in a letter by Col. Peter Sayer to Lord Baltimore he is mentioned as one of the men signing a warrant for the taking of arms and ammunition for the Rebels to be used against the Indians.²⁷ In 1690 in a letter of Col. Thomas Smithson to the Bishop of London John Edmondson is cited with John Coode as threatening and imprisoning people, spreading false rumors about Indians and Papists, and finally mutiny.²⁸ Later in 1690 he was a signer of a letter from the people of Maryland to the King describing the state of affairs in Maryland under Captain Coode.

²¹ We are indebted to Mr. Wm. B. Marye who established the identity of Mrs. Edmondson.—Ed.

²² There are numerous references to Parker in the *Archives of Maryland*; see for instance, X, 66, 407, 472 et passim.—Ed.

²³ See *New England Historical and Genealogical Register*, 32 (1878), 337.—Ed.

²⁴ *Archives of Maryland*, XIII, 354, 356.

²⁵ *Archives of Maryland*, XIII, 288.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, III, 144.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 159.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, VIII, 192-193.

Shortly thereafter an order was signed continuing John Coode as Commander in Chief of His Majesty's forces in Maryland with the assistance of a committee of twenty of which John Edmondson of Talbot was one.²⁹ In 1691 he was one of the signers of "Articles Against Lord Baltimore."³⁰ In the same year he was appointed a Justice of a Provincial or Superior Court to try the murderers of John Payne.³¹ He was a witness in 1692 in the case of the misuse of the Talbot Court House by a group of persons disaffected by Court decisions many of whom became inebriated. In this case his testimony confirmed that of others that

Mr. Lillintone in company with several companions came to the Court House during their sitting and holding court and took a room over the Commissioners Chamber that they bespoke a dinner to be brought to the water side and a Table to be there, a great deal of victuals were seen being carried out of the Court House into the field where they did Carrouse drinking all night. Some of them had ridd their horses into the Court House—some of their frolics had put themselves into the Pillory. They drank untill they fell together by the ears—one flinging one another into the water—and in their frolics they had given a name to their place of meeting. Lillingstone said it would be called a Convention—the others said it should be called Lambeth Hall. The aforesaid company continued their frolics four or five days or thereabouts.³²

In 1694 the public ammunition was committed to the charge of John Edmondson.³³ In the same year he was on the bond of the Collector of Wiccomocco and Potomac, £400 sterling.³⁴ In 1695 he was on the bond of Edward Greene who seizes wrecks "Thither coming & by Law condemnable" and "Whales & other Royall fish . . . with liberty of trying Oyle."³⁵ While in the Assembly with two other Friends, Ralph Fishborne and Bryan O'Mealy he was appointed to confer with Col. Vincent Lowe on the charges of the latter that it was the influence of Friends in the Assembly that had caused taxes to be raised so high. Friends were cleared of the charge.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 199. Also Raphael Semmes, *Captains and Mariners of Early Maryland* (Baltimore, 1937), pp. 652-653.

³⁰ *Archives of Maryland*, VIII, 215-220.

³¹ *Ibid.*, 242.

³² *Ibid.*, XIII, 366.

³³ *Ibid.*, XX, 206.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 259.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, 269, 302-303.

Likewise in local affairs John Edmondson played an active part. In the levy of 1669 he was assessed 6600 pounds of tobacco at 76 per poll.³⁶ This was one-third of the total assessment on all residents of the county. In 1669 he was appointed by the Court with Mr. William Coursey "Overseecare and Repairer of the High ways." His jurisdiction was from the Ordinary to the Choptank.³⁷ In the same year he was granted ten acres of land lying at the head of Miles River in Talbot County on each side of the run of the water running there together for the building of a mill. As early as 1676 he proved his rights for transporting thirty servants in the preceding year but he assigned to Will Stevens of Somerset and others the right to 1,400 acres of land for the transportation of these people. The individuals brought in largely bear Quaker names frequently met in the early Talbot records.³⁸ His local prestige is reflected in the testimony in the affair of Poh Poh Caquis, a drunken Indian, who attempted to murder by gunfire William Troth in his home. Troth testified that after the incident, fearing further trouble, he took refuge in the home of John Edmondson and found visiting there Col. Philemon Lloyd, a member of the Governor's Council.³⁹ John Edmondson took in and cared for a wounded soldier, William Smith, who had been disabled by the Indians, and for this service received compensation from Talbot County.⁴⁰ Between 1679 and 1698 the Provincial Judgments reflect that he was plaintiff in 117 instances and defendant in 103 although disputes between Quakers that ordinarily would bring recourse to Court were settled in Quaker Meeting and without recourse to law. Disputes in which he was involved brought him at times under Quaker discipline. John Edmondson was a contributor to the first school library in Maryland—that at Third Haven.⁴¹ The library was founded by George Fox with books sent from England following his return from his visit to Maryland. Some of these books remain in the Third Haven Meeting House to this day. A sidelight on the diversity of the

³⁶ *Ibid.*, LIV, 445.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, 435.

³⁸ Among them Montague, Johns, Peeke, Lewis, Dorrington, Gurling, Marsh, Sharpe, Mackley, Eubanck, Shaw, Tate, Dowsworth, Lamb, Browings, Stoakely, Archbold, Magurney, Barrett, Wasse, Fisher, Oram, and Kilgore.

³⁹ *Archives of Maryland*, XVII, 176-178.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, LIII, vlvii; LIV, 419.

⁴¹ *Two-Hundredth Anniversary of the Friends' Meeting House at Third Haven* (Easton, 1884).

activity of John Edmondson is reflected in a review of the practice of medicine in the early colonial days. The Editor of the Early Maryland County Courts reports it this way:

A curious incident of a contract based on a promised cure is to be found in the suit of a certain Thomas Watson who agreed to serve Mr. John Edmondson for two years if the latter would cure his leg and complained that he had been assigned by Edmondson to another master, and that his leg had not been cured, and added that he was in "Grate Miszerry," and petitioned for his freedom. The Court asked Dr. Richard Tilghman for an expert opinion who reported that "the leg was very bad and required speedy help." The Court freed Watson from his contract and ordered Edmondson to pay him the usual "freedom corne and clothes."⁴²

John Edmondson's transactions are spread upon the Pennsylvania records of the Lower Counties on the Delaware especially at New Castle. It is recorded that at a public outcry of the houses, lands, and possessions of Capt. John Carr who had been of the Commission Office at Delaware that John Edmondson purchased for 3300 guilders "the house and lands known as the Greathouse with the blok-house and ketching with the erves thereunto belonging." A year later he petitioned for a new survey of the lands he had previously bought but had been prevented from possessing by the coming of the Dutch. Other litigation at New Castle reveals the extent of the land transactions of John Edmondson in these Pennsylvania counties. John Edmondson and John Moll were the agents of John Fenwick, a great Quaker and the founder of the town of Salem, New Jersey, and the owner of great tracts of Pennsylvania land in Delaware. Personally and perhaps once accompanied by his wife Sarah he attended meetings of the Court at New Castle. Capt. Edmund Cantwell, Commissioner of the fort at New Castle, visited John Edmondson at his home at Cedar Point in Talbot. At New Castle Edmondson was represented by his attorney, John Moll said to have been the most eminent mathematician in the colonies. The record of John Edmondson's Pennsylvania litigation is voluminous but chiefly interesting for the light it sheds on life and events of these early days in and about Christiana Creek.

There are in the Delaware records further entries to indicate the diversity of Edmondson's operations there. He was sued in

⁴² *Archives of Maryland*, LIII, liii; LIV, 466-467.

the Upland Court of Pennsylvania for 1,200 pounds of tobacco on a transaction involving "a certain great boat or shiallup" and at auction the boat was sold for 625 guilders to be paid in tobacco at 8 stivers a pound or in wheat at 5 guilders a schepel.

One of the earliest, if not the earliest Quaker in Talbot, and throughout his life a vigorous cultivator of both the inner and the outer plantations, it was John Edmondson who deeded the land for the building of Third Haven Meeting House, 1682. It is a portion of "Edmondson's Neck" on which his own home "Cedar Point" stood. Before the meeting house was built the home of John Edmondson was the place of meeting. George Fox was twice a visitor at John Edmondson's, November 3, 1672, and January 24, 1673. The births of the Edmondson children and the marriages of all of them except Grace and Samuel are recorded in Third Haven Meeting. John and Sarah were first among the witnesses to many a marriage there. George Fox in his *Journal* states:

The day following we travelled hard, though we had some troublesome bogs in our way; we rode about fifty miles, and got safe that night to Robert Harwood's at Miles-river in Maryland . . . and though we were weary and much dirtied with the bogs, yet hearing of a meeting next day, we went to it, and from it to John Edmondson's; from whence we went three or four miles by water to a meeting on the first-day following. . . . I went back to friends that night and on the next day we departed thence about nineteen or twenty miles to Tred-haven creek to John Edmondson's again, and whence the third of the eighth month we went to the general meeting for all Maryland friends.

George Fox records that the meeting lasted several days, the first three being for worship and the last two church business. He records "several magistrates with their wives, many Protestants of diverse sorts and some Papists and persons of chief account in the country were present. It was thought that there were a thousand people and there were so many boats on the river that it was almost like the Thames."⁴³

John Edmondson's seat was "Cedar Point" in the area yet known as "Edmondson's Neck" on the Tred Avon about two miles from present day Easton. Parts of the old home are still standing in spite of a disastrous fire. For many years the property was known locally as the Edward B. Hardcastle estate, then as the estate of Charles Todd, and more recently it has become the prop-

⁴³ *A Journal . . . of . . . George Fox* (London, 1765), pp. 447-449.

erty of Mr. and Mrs. W. Alton Jones in whose hands it has become one of the finest examples of colonial restoration in Maryland.

John Edmondson died in 1697 or early in 1698. His will is dated 9th of 8th month 1697 and was probated in Talbot March 7, 1697/8.⁴⁴ In Pennsylvania the document was recorded in Kent County, now Delaware. The will speaks of wife Sarah, sons James, Thomas and Samuel, his deceased son John, his daughter Elizabeth Stevens, and son Abraham Morgan. In the later part of the will is reference to "my five children." The executors were the widow and the four sons. The bond was 2,000 pounds Sterling, and Abraham Morgan was the security.⁴⁵ While the property was of great extent there was insufficient cash to settle. By 1709 the estate was not yet settled and then Thomas, the sole surviving executor, sought an Act of Assembly to confirm him in the sale of certain of the Pennsylvania land for the payment of debts due from the estate. In the Pennsylvania record is this "Whereas by Act of Assembly, November 11, 1709. Thomas Edmondson of Talbot County, Gentleman, was empowered to sell and dispose of lands left by the will of his father John Edmondson."⁴⁶ Under this authority Thomas Edmondson sold to Robert Grundy about ten thousand acres of Delaware land. The remaining land in Pennsylvania was not sold until October 7, 1763, when John Reed of Philadelphia purchased the residue for three thousand five hundred pounds. Some small portions yet remaining were sold in 1769 to Thomas Wharton. Most of the Maryland land came down through Pollard Edmondson to Horatio Edmondson and then to Horatio, Jr. who apparently was not able to conserve the considerable estate that had come to him from his forefathers. Horatio Edmondson, Jr. was the last Edmondson to reside at "Cedar Point."

No doubt the ashes of John Edmondson, Gent., Quaker merchant of Third Haven lie in the Meeting House of Third Haven there in "Edmondson' Neck," but there is no stone as such were then not used by Friends, but in a larger measure the Meeting House itself is a monument to the memory of this man of large affairs who cherished in his heart the simple beliefs of Quakers.

John and Sarah Edmondson have many descendants in Talbot,

⁴⁴ Delaware Calendar of Probate 20, Dover.

⁴⁵ Test. Proc. 17, 188. Inventory JB # 1, 63.

⁴⁶ Del. Test. Proc., D P D, 94, Dover.

in Dorchester, and in other Maryland counties, in Delaware, and elsewhere. Many have retained their Quaker allegiance.

Sarah, the eldest of the children, born 24th of 11th month called January, 1664, married "in an assembly of the people of God at their meeting place at the house of John Edmondson" December 26, 1682,⁴⁷ William Johnson, mariner of Radcliffe in Old England. In consideration of the marriage John Edmondson deeded to them the tract of land on the north side of Third Haven Creek which he had purchased from Francis Armstrong while yet a resident of Calvert.⁴⁸ William Johnson died before May 22, 1697, and John Edmondson administered on his estate.⁴⁹ Sarah must have died before the 8th month 1697 as she is not mentioned in her father's will.

John, the eldest son, "born 2d of 2d month called April 1666," married at Betty's Cove Meeting, March 28, 1685,⁵⁰ Susannah O'Mealy, born June 27, 1673, daughter of Bryan O'Mealy and his first wife, who was Ann, the widow Morgan. John died in March, 1687, without children. He left a will dated February 13, 1685/6, which was recorded at Annapolis but not in Talbot. Its provisions were confirmed in the will of his father. He made his next oldest brother James his residuary legatee. The property was considerable including "Cook's Hope Manor," 1000 acres. This property passed by primogeniture to James Edmondson's son, John Edmondson.⁵¹

Grace, second daughter, born 22nd of 9th month 1668, was a witness to a marriage when she was thirteen, but she is not mentioned in her father's will, and so was presumably dead before 1697. An inference has been drawn by some from an obscure item in the will of John Edmondson that she married a Brooks. After making dispositions to all of his children and to his wife and after bequests to a number of others there is this: "Item, I give unto Katherine Brooks grand Child two hundred acres of land out of thirteen hundred acres that I have by Indian Town." The question remains whether Katherine Brooks is his grandchild or whether the inheritor is the grandchild of one Katherine Brooks whose interests John Edmondson recognized.

⁴⁷ Third Haven Records, 97-99.

⁴⁸ Talbot Land Records 4, AH, 181-2.

⁴⁹ Test. Proc. Kent County 1695-97, Vol. 16, 239.

⁵⁰ Third Haven Records, 5, 339.

⁵¹ D. M. Owings, "Private Manors: An Edited List," *Md. Hist. Mag.*, XXXIII (Dec., 1938), 325-326.

James, the second son, the forebear of the Edmondsons of Talbot, was born 25th of 2nd month called April 1670 and died June 27, 1702.⁵² He married December 18, 1691, Magdalen Stevens of Dorchester at Dorothy Stevens' house in Great Chop-tank.⁵³ After the death of her husband at the age of 32 Magdalen married Jacob Loockerman at St. Peter's Parish Church in 1711. The marriage was condemned at Quaker Meeting "he not being a Quaker."⁵⁴ Subsequently she condemned her own action in marrying outside the good order.⁵⁵ James Edmondson and his brother Thomas provided the timber to cover the meeting house at Third Haven.⁵⁶ The four children of James and Magdalen married into the Pollard, Bartlett, Clayton and Powell families.⁵⁷ A grandson through John, called John of Banbury was a delegate from Talbot to the Convention which ratified the Constitution. John, son of James and Magdalen, married Margaret Pollard, daughter of Tobias and June Pollard of Dorchester and they had with others a son Hon. Pollard Edmondson who married March 5, 1738, Mary Dickinson, daughter of Hon. James Dickinson, and they had a family of sons and daughters, among the latter Lucretia who in 1786 married Capt. Severn Teackle. These became the parents of Elizabeth Custis Teackle who married Phillip Wallis to whom was born, September 6, 1816, Hon. Severn Teackle Wallis of Baltimore. Another daughter, Elizabeth, married before 1763, Hugh Hopewell of St. Mary's County, Justice of the Court there, and from them is descended the Duchess of Windsor. Pollard Edmondson, Sr., served in the Colonial Troop of horse, 1748;⁵⁸ he was a member of the Lower House of Assembly 1751-1768; a member of the Provincial Convention 1775-1776 and a member of the Convention ratifying the Constitution of the United States 1788. He died in 1794.⁵⁹ Pollard Edmondson, Jr., likewise had a distinguished public career. He was an officer in the American Revolution and was one of the commissioners for the erection of a Court House at Easton to accommodate the General

⁵² Third Haven Records, 341.

⁵³ Third Haven Records, 5, 355.

⁵⁴ Third Haven Records, 2, 58. ff

⁵⁵ Third Haven Records, 2, 102.

⁵⁶ Third Haven Records, 2, 284.

⁵⁷ Talbot Wills, 25, 135.

⁵⁸ "Colonial Militia, 1740, 1748," *Md. Hist. Mag.*, V (June, 1911), 193.

⁵⁹ R. H. Spencer, "Hon. Nicholas Thomas," *ibid.*, 156 n, and Tilghman, *op. cit.*, I, 179, 545.

Court of the Eastern Shore and the County of Talbot. His children married into the Thomas, Howard, Trippe, Teackle, and Bozman families; his grandchildren into Barroll, Lownes, Groome, and Plater families. At "Cedar Point" is a stone engraved to Charlotte Matilda, daughter of Horatio Edmondson and wife of John Rousby Plater in her 72nd year. Her mother was Charlotte Leeds Thomas, daughter of William J. and Rachel Leeds Thomas. John Rousby Plater was the second son of George Plater of Sotterley, St. Mary's County, Governor of Maryland, 1791-1792, and his wife Elizabeth Rousby of Rousby Hall, Calvert County. Governor Stevens of Maryland likewise is a descendant of John Edmondson through his second son, James. Branches of the Talbot family from James were settled for several generations on Taylor's Island and on Hooper's Island. Marriages of this branch of the family are with the LeCompte, Pagon, Airey, and Vickers families.

Henrietta Maria, third daughter, was born 26th of 12th month 1671. She is not mentioned in her father's will and was probably dead by 1698, certainly so in 1709.

Martha, fourth daughter, born 6th of 2nd month 1673, died on the 20th of the same month.

William, third son and seventh child, the founder of the family in Dorchester, was born in 1677. He married Sarah Sharp, 25th day of 12th month 1692 at William Sharp's in Talbot.⁶⁰ Intention had been recorded November 6, 1692.⁶¹ He and his wife died the same day, 7th month 1702 and are buried in a single grave near Island Creek. His five children married into the Troth, Kennerly, Neal, and Lowe families. His grandson, Peter Edmondson, who married Sophia Neal, February 23, 1756, was a delegate to the Maryland Convention which ratified the Constitution of the United States. In 1702 Third Haven Meeting was disturbed by the "outrunning betwixt William Edmondson and William Dixon" but after the meeting William Edmondson acknowledged that "he does not qualify himself and would never do the like again."

Elizabeth, fifth daughter, married October 26, 1695, William Stevens, Jr. Their intentions had been laid before the meeting February 5, 1695. There was one son, Edmondson Stevens, mentioned in his grandfather's will. Elizabeth died before 1709.

⁶⁰ Third Haven Records, 5, 363.

⁶¹ Third Haven Records, 219, 221.

Thomas, fourth son, married August 7, 1699, Mary Grasson (sometimes Grasun, and again Grayson) the widow of Robert Grasson. He was Burgess from Talbot 1718-1719 and held town lots at Oxford. They left a family of sons and daughters who married into the Hopkins and Tibballs families. He died in 1719, the last surviving son and executor of his father.

Samuel, tenth and youngest child, was born October 14, 1684. For some reason, so far undiscovered, he was baptised in St. Peter's Parish Church, March 29, 1703. He died in 1704. Of him no record appears other than a summons, April 5, 1708, served upon Thomas Edmondson, who had at that time filed an accounting on his brother's, Samuel's estate.⁶²

⁶² Talbot Co. Test. Papers, Box 16, f. 52, Hall of Records, Annapolis.

THE GREAT MARYLAND BARRENS: III

By WILLIAM B. MARYE

(Concluded from Vol. 50, No. 2, June, 1955, p. 142)

THE QUALITY OF LANDS IN THE BARRENS

A "tax list" for Harford Co., 1783¹¹⁶ made out separately for each "hundred," gives us the benefit of more or less competent opinion as to the quality of lands within and adjacent to the Barrens. Lands are given one of three ratings: good, midling, and sorry.

Broad Creek Hundred,¹¹⁷ virtually all of which lay within the Barrens, seems to have presented the appearance of an uninterrupted stretch of poor land, probably, for the most part, a waste. It is not unlikely that in 1783 as much land remained in this hundred to be taken up as had already been surveyed. Of the surveyed lands the assessor rated 4548 acres as "sorry," 326 acres as "midling" (of which 150 acres were on or near the Susquehanna), and none as "good." Deer Creek Upper Hundred, a considerable part of which was in the Barrens, had 8,614 acres rated "sorry," none "midling," and only 20 acres rated "good." A great deal of land situated between the Barrens and Susquehanna River got the lowest rating. It must be remembered that this rating was probably meted out to rocky, steep, non-arable lands, as well as to arable hillsides and levels of thin soil and "barrens." Deer Creek Middle Hundred¹¹⁸ had 12,271 acres entered as "sorry," as against 410 acres "midling" and only 31 acres rated "good." The better sort of land all lay on Deer Creek. "Arabia Petrea," which was shared by the three hundreds last

¹¹⁶ Scharf MSS, Md. Hist. Soc.

¹¹⁷ Descriptions of the bounds of this hundred and of the others herein mentioned are not at hand.

¹¹⁸ The uppermost boundary of this hundred on Deer Creek appears to have been in the neighborhood of Sandy Hook, since a part of "Spittlecraft" was included in it. "Freeland's Mount," which was divided between this hundred and Deer Creek Lower Hundred, lies on the north side of Deer Creek, a little over a mile below the mouth of Thomas's Run.

mentioned, had 4,943 acres rated "sorry." The suspicion that the lowest rating was too liberally dispensed is probably not justified. Lands situated along the Susquehanna, between Deer Creek and Peddler's Run, and extending back from the river a mile or less, got, for the most part, high ratings, as might have been expected.¹¹⁹

The three Harford Co. hundreds which bordered on the state line were Eden, Deer Creek Upper, and Broad Creek. Eden Hundred lay in the northwestern corner of the county. Deer Creek Upper Hundred took in the upper part of Broad Creek and the valley of Falling Branch. These three hundreds and Bush River Upper Hundred, together, embraced all the area of the Barrens in Harford County. Bush River Upper Hundred comprised the valley of Stirrup Run, and stretched across the Fork of Winters Run to the Little Falls of Gunpowder River. In the 1783 tax-lists this hundred and Eden Hundred are lumped together. Within the bounds of these combined hundreds there were 21,449 acres which were rated "sorry," 6,113 acres rated "midling," and only 668 acres rated "good."¹²⁰

From these records it appears that in 1783 by far the greater part of all the patented and leased lands situated in the northern section of Harford County had a low rating. Since it is reasonable to suppose that the number of acres within this area then remaining uncultivated (which must have included a very large amount of "vacant" land) was greatly in excess of the land under cultivation, it follows that this rating was in large part based on the nature of the wild growth or vegetation which was to be found upon respective tracts. It seems most unlikely that any parcels of "vacant" land would have got better than a "sorry" rating.

We look in vain for traces of the Barrens on a "Map of Harford County Showing Agrcultural Soils," published by the Maryland Geological Survey in 1905. All about the head of Little Deer Creek and thence to the Baltimore Co. line, about Shawsville, Black Horse, Madonna, Cathcart, and Jarrettsville, the soil is mostly described as "good" for general farm crops. Yet the whole of this fruitful area was once included in the Barrens. The map shows rocky land, such as that about the Rocks of Deer

¹¹⁹ These river lands all lay within Deer Creek Lower Hundred.

¹²⁰ Outside of those parts of "My Lady's Manor" (55 acres) and "Isles of Caprea" (330 acres) which were rated "good," only 33 acres in these combined hundreds got that rating.

Creek, and naturally barren land here and there, as, for example, around Cherry Hill in the Mine Old Fields. A strip of poor land is shown, extending along the south side of Broad Creek, from its mouth upwards about 2 miles. One may judge of the poor quality of this strip by the woods growing thereon today. Soil maps of Baltimore County likewise show no traces of the Barrens. There is no continuous belt of poor land in these countries where the Barrens once spread.

THE HUNTERS OF THE BARRENS

By a treaty made July 5, 1652, the Susquehannock Indians ceded to Maryland all territory they claimed which was situated between Patuxent River and Palmer's Island,¹²¹ and from Choptank River to "the North East Branch"¹²² which lies to the Northward of Elk River."

At that time settlements had already been made in Calvert and Anne Arundel Cos. Some lands were surveyed on the north side of Patapsco River in 1652, but it is not to be supposed that they were settled until several years later. A fort named "Fort Conquest" had long stood on the northern end of Palmer's Island.¹²³ On the Eastern Shore no lands were taken up before 1658, except on Kent Island. Settlements were begun that year in the tidal rivers of the Western Shore north of the Severn, and in those of the Eastern Shore, outside of the aforesaid island. It is the year of the spreading out of settlements so as to take in the whole of tidewater Maryland.

All the back country between the lower Susquehanna and the Patuxent, bounded on the east by the heads of the tidal rivers, was, before 1652, the hunting ground of the Susquehannock Indians. Undoubtedly, they continued to hunt there long afterwards, but eventually, after their power was broken, they were forced to share this preserve with other tribes. It is likely that by 1730 they had ceased to hunt in the Barrens and went hunting farther to the west to avoid contact with settlers.¹²⁴

¹²¹ *Archives of Maryland*, III, 217 ff.

¹²² The North East River. This river is mentioned by its present name in "A Relation of a Voyage made by Mr. Cyprian Thorowgood to the Head of the Bay," 1634, a manuscript presented by the late Dr. Hugh Hampton Young to the Enoch Pratt Free Library.

¹²³ Marye, "Early History of the Site of Havre de Grace," *Mr. Hist. Mag.*, XIII (1918), 205, 206.

¹²⁴ Marye, "The Old Indian Road," *ibid.*, XV (1920), 377.

In early historical times, beginning with Captain John Smith's exploration of Chesapeake Bay in 1608, the inner fastnesses of this great Susquehannock hunting preserve were probably not inhabited by sedentary Indians, living in towns, as Indians did in Southern Maryland. Furthermore, it is pretty well established that there were no Indian towns at that period in the tidal rivers of the Bay between the Patuxent and the Susquehanna. They were uninhabited; from the Patuxent northward "untill you come to the head of the Bay, there are no more Rivers that are inhabited; there dwell the Susquehanocks, upon a River that is not navigable for our Boates, by reason of Sholes and Rockes; but they pass it in Canoos."¹²⁵

This statement is sufficiently borne out in several ways. Had there been Indian towns in those rivers, they would certainly have been mentioned in the *Archives of Maryland*. They would probably have been mentioned in the laying out of lands. They would have been mentioned in treaties. Their chief men would have sent in complaints. Their Indians would have got into trouble with white people. At the same time, evidences of Indian occupation are probably just as abundant in this region as they are in that of the known Indian towns of historical times.¹²⁶ Were there at one time sedentary Indians, not related to the Susquehannocks, living upon those rivers, who were driven out by that warlike people?

The hunting grounds of the Susquehannocks, extending to tide-water, were probably a depopulated, uninhabited wilderness when alienated, in 1652. The Barrens lay within this preserve, and it is to the Susquehannocks that, for want of any other theory, we attribute the development of the Barrens.

¹²⁵ *A Relation of Maryland* (anonymous), 1635, in *Narratives of Early Maryland* (New York, 1910), p. 78. Cyprian Thorowgood, the Indian trader, in his journal of a voyage to the head of Chesapeake Bay in the year 1634, mentions the Susquehannocks as follows: "This nation is a very valourous and stout people living in pallisadoed townes about 40 miles from this [Palmer's] Island, they are commonly 2 daies in going home in their cannowes, but can come downe in halfe a day, because of many falls which are in the river" [the Susquehanna]. No Indian towns in those parts are indicated on Captain John Smith's Map of Virginia (1612).

¹²⁶ The only conspicuous signs of former Indian occupation which are still to be seen upon the shores of tidal rivers, creeks, coves, and the Bay, itself, between Susquehanna River and Patuxent River, within the area once claimed by the Susquehannocks, are the shell-heaps. They are all, perhaps, prehistoric, although, probably, not of any great antiquity, and it is a fair guess that they are the work of people living on the Bay and its estuaries, rather than that of intruders from the north.

They suffered crushing defeat and humiliation in 1676, but were by no means wiped out.¹²⁷ However, their time for lording it over other tribes, or "nations," as we once called them, was ended. In the minutes of a debate between William Penn and Lord Baltimore's representative Colonel George Talbott, over the boundary question, which took place in 1684, Talbott called to mind the fact that

every nation [of Indians] had its own well defined hunting grounds. . . . That part of the Susquehannocks country that lies in Maryland, [he went on to say], vizt between the 40th degree and the rivers Papapsco, Elk and Sassafra, was theirs; but they were conquered by the Marylanders and are now no nation. Their right to these lands now is vested in Lord Baltimore; vizt their right of hunting there and of barring all others. This territory was never hunted over by the Delaware Indians in the Susquehannoh's time; and now they ought to be licensed or not permitted to hunt anywhere west of the Elk River no more than in the Susquehannoes time, their ancient right being to hunt eastward of the Elk River.¹²⁸

Already by 1678 the Delawares were laying claim to these hunting grounds, namely, the upper parts of Baltimore Co.,¹²⁹ and by 1697 they were accustomed to hunt there, as we read in the Proceedings of the Council: "The Susquehannahs Delawares and Shevanoes [Shawnees] do take themselves and are inclinable to be under this province [Maryland] because of their hunting within the same betwixt Susquehanna and Potomoke."¹³⁰

Until 1699, or thereabouts, no settlements were made in the backwoods or "forest" of Baltimore Co., above the heads of the principal estuaries of the Chesapeake, except for a very few outlying plantations and the cabins and truck patches of hunters. There, up to that time, Indians continued to go their way unmolested, and, perhaps, more often than not, unobserved, even to within a short distance of the English plantations. On October 9, 1697, the Council considered the report of John Oldton, Captain of Rangers in Baltimore Co., in which we find among other matters, the following information: "We have Ranged & made discovery of all Good Lands back of our Road and found a

¹²⁷ *Handbook of American Indians*, II, 659 (Bulletin 30, Bureau of American Ethnology).

¹²⁸ *Narratives of Early Maryland*, pp. 440, 441.

¹²⁹ *Archives of Maryland*, XV, 175.

¹³⁰ *Ibid.*, XIX, 520.

great many Indian Cabbins and Tents where we marked Trees and sett up our names."¹³¹

The same year the Council, looking into the matter of some murders and depredations committed by Indians at the head of the Bay, considered the testimony of a certain Charles Hewitt, an elderly man, living as a lessee or a tenant on a plantation in the Fork of Gunpowder River, a few miles above the head of tide-water, cut off from other settlements by uninhabited country. This man deposed that for the past four years he had been "seated" upon his plantation, which was situated "upon the head of Gunpowder about ffour miles without any inhabitants," and lying directly in the "walks" which Indians "usually take when they move to their hunting Quarters; the Indians usually passing that way to hunt being not above a dozen or ffourteen men besides women & children."¹³² The picture of these hunting parties is completed as follows: "Their Company's in moving Seldom above two or three with their ffamilies." "Their passing was peaceable modestly asking and paying for such Necessarys as they had occasion of." "Their time of moving to their hunting Quarters was in June from whence they return'd not till September & then in Companys as they went laden with their pelt."

Hewitt further testified that, in contrast to this peaceful coming and going upon their occasions, Indians numbering between 50 and 60 men, all armed, painted and well supplied with rum, and without their wives and children (a sign of warlike intent) had within the past three months called at his house, and had taken what they wanted, without paying for it. He testified that their demeanor in so doing was insolent and threatening, and that they had used "Jestures and postures unaccustom'd." They alleged that they were on their way "to Potomock" to trade.¹³³

Who were these Indians? Perhaps Susquehannocks; perhaps, Shawnees. One is tempted to identify them as Delawares. In 1697 a remnant of this tribe was living on White Clay Creek in

¹³¹ *Ibid.*, XXIII, 260, 261.

¹³² See "The Old Indian Road," *op. cit.*, p. 122. The author presents evidence that Hewitt lived on a tract of land called "Selby's Hope," situated at and about Kingsville, in the 11th District of Baltimore Co., some 4 miles, more or less, above the shore of Gunpowder River in the Fork. This stretch of shore, now encased in marsh and alluvial land, which lies between the mouth of the Little Falls and the (old) mouth of the Great Falls, was taken up and settled in the 1660's.

¹³³ *Archives of Maryland*, XXIII, 188-191.

New Castle Co., Delaware. The objection to this theory is that they could muster only 40 men.¹³⁴

It is to the Delaware Indians' known habit of hunting in the former hunting preserve of the Susquehannocks that we attribute the name of Delaware Bottom, a piece of low ground on the South Branch of the Patapsco, below Sykesville. From Delaware Bottom were derived the names of Delaware Falls (the former name of the South Branch), Delaware Hundred, and Delaware Bottom Branch.¹³⁵ It is suggested that the Delawares may have set up their hunting quarters in Delaware Bottom.

THE BARRENS AS A RANGE FOR STOCK

It is a commonplace that in colonial Maryland it was the custom among the planters and farmers to let their stock run wild in the woods, whether on their own land, on their neighbor's land, or upon vacant land. These wild, or semi-wild creatures (called "critters" by the uneducated) generally bore their owners' marks or brands, which were duly recorded. There was much stealing, and sometimes, when the dishonest one failed to take due precaution, the hide of the stolen animal was discovered and found to bear the owner's mark. All stock so running wild—horses, pigs, cattle—were subject to the assaults of beasts of prey, particularly panthers and wolves. In 1652 Robert Brooke brought suit against Cuthbert Fenwick for misappropriating "one Great large Bore, which defended the rest of the hogs from the wolves really worth three hundred weight of Tobacco."¹³⁶

The neighborhood of a good, open range was considered a great asset to a plantation. As time went on, such ranges, in parts well within the frontier, became more and more restricted in extent. If available, they are mentioned in advertisements, as for example, a notice of the sale of 1000 acres (later "Perry Hall") on the Great Falls of Gunpowder River, which was inserted in the *Maryland Journal*, June 4, 1774, by Archibald Buchanan, administrator of the estate of Corbin Lee, Esq., "suitable for a gentleman, miller or farmer." "It is contiguous to an extensive range of 10 to 12 miles circuit of uncultivated land held by the [Notting-

¹³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 444.

¹³⁵ Marye, "The Baltimore County Garrison and the Old Garrison Roads," *Md. Hist. Mag.*, XVI (1921), 253 n.

¹³⁶ *Archives of Maryland*, X, 243.

ham] Iron Works from whence any number of cattle may be raised."

Several contemporary advertisements bear witness to the fact that lands which lay within easy distance of the Barrens, were considered to be the more valuable on that account.

On September 23, 1746, a certain Archibald Douglas advertised in the *Maryland Gazette* the sale of 250 acres, part of "Scutt's Level,"¹³⁷ situated in Baltimore Co., "about ten miles from the head of Patapsco [meaning, the head of tidewater, at Elk Ridge Landing] and the same distance from Baltimore Town," "convenient for stock, there being an outlet to the Barrens of Patapsco."¹³⁸

In the *Maryland Gazette*, November 8, 1749, J. Ross offered for sale a tract of land containing 4200 acres, called Nicholson's Manor, belonging to the heirs of William Nicholson. This manor is described as situated "in the forest of Baltimore County," "about 24 miles from Baltimore Town on Patapsco River" (the distance is over-estimated). It is further described as "well situated for raising Stock, there being a great Range of Barrens back of it."¹³⁹

In the *Maryland Gazette*, December 6, 1749, Beale Bordley offered for sale two tracts of land (not named), described as lying upon the branches of Patuxent River, about four miles from Green's Mill in Anne Arundel Co.¹⁴⁰ According to the advertisement these lands had this advantage, among others, that they lay "convenient to the Barrens, for raising Hogs, &c."¹⁴¹

As a range the Barrens appear to have been regarded as a fixture, not subject to change. In the *Maryland Gazette*, March 23, 1769, there is the advertisement of John Campbell, offering

¹³⁷ "Scutt's Level," 500 acres, was surveyed for John Scutt, March 28, 1702. The certificate of survey calls for Carroll's or Scutt's Branch (now called Scutt's Level Branch) and for Dead Run (still so called); also for Gwins Falls. (Patent Records for Land, Liber D. D. No. 5, f. 60).

¹³⁸ This "outlet," as we have already observed, must have been by way of Soldiers Delight. The name of "Graziers Delight," 892 acres, surveyed for Robert Cross, on Soldiers Delight, October 8, 1774, implies that the barrens of soldiers Delight were a favorite range for stock.

¹³⁹ This extensive and well known tract of land occupies a large section of the valley of Western Run. Part of it lies east of the York Road at Western Run. Its northernmost limits lie somewhat south of Western Run at Butler and continue so east for over 2 miles. The survey is recorded at the Land Office, in Liber B. Y. & G. S. No. I, f. 309.

¹⁴⁰ Green's Mill was at Green's Bridge. This situation has been discussed above.

¹⁴¹ The author is indebted to Mr. Hemphill for this important item.

for sale a tract of land, containing 1551½ acres, "lying in the Forest of Baltimore County, joining the land where Benjamin Barns formerly lived."¹⁴² According to the owner, his land deserved recommendation for the following reason: ". . . as it joins the Barrens, [it] has this particular Advantage, that is can never be deprived of an extensive Range for Cattle and Hogs."

ASPECTS OF THE BARRENS, FLORAL AND FAUNAL

Pine woods and stands of pines appear to have been a (late?) feature of the Barrens. In Baltimore (including Carroll) Co. there were four streams called "Piney Run" which rose in the Barrens. The Barrens would have been congenial to aspens. In Carroll Co. there are two streams known as Aspen Run. These are old, original names. The West Fork of the North Branch of Patapsco Falls was known as the Piney Falls.¹⁴³ Numerous land records refer to "The Pines" of Deer Creek, or to "The Pines" of Broad Creek, landmarks which were probably conspicuous.¹⁴⁴ Of what species of pine these woods were composed is a question which we cannot answer.¹⁴⁵ The hemlock, which still is to be found, sparingly, on Broad Creek, within the old limits of the Barrens, and on Deer Creek, below these limits,¹⁴⁶ probably once formed occasional

¹⁴² This land was "Campbell's Search," previously considered.

¹⁴³ "Cranberry Grove," a resurvey, laid out for John Whips, May 20, 1765, calls for a bounded red oak, "standing at the head of a Valley descending into a Marsh called the Cranberry fork which descends into Piney Falls." (Scharf Papers, Additional Rent Roll of the Western Shore, Baltimore Co.). Cranberry Fork, now called Cranberry Run, meets the West Fork of the North Branch of the Patapsco about one mile northeast of Westminster.

¹⁴⁴ For mention of "The Pines of Deer Creek" see Unpatented Certificates, Baltimore Co., Nos. 93, 109, 311, 1036; also, "Deniston," for John Guyton, Jan. 1, 1761. For mention of The Pines of Broad Creek, see Unpatented Certificates, Baltimore Co., Nos. 230, 825, 1257; also "Reeses Range," for William Rees, March 31, 1748; "Deaver's Project," for Richard Deaver, March 17, 1741. All of these lands were situated in Baltimore (now Harford) Co., in the Reserve. The Pines of Broad Creek stood at or near where the creek passes through Slate Ridge.

¹⁴⁵ Scrub pines, a sign of poor land, naturally come to mind. What looks like the remains of a natural stand of white pines may be seen today on the heights on the northern side of Deer Creek at the Rocks. Pitch pines and short leaved pines grow sparingly in the woods on the southern side of the valley of Broad Creek near the Susquehanna.

¹⁴⁶ On Broad Creek, south side, between Iron Bridge and Boy Scout Camp; on Deer Creek, at what was formerly Wilson's Mill, opposite the residence of Mr. Frank Stokes. (Letter, Mason to author, October 31, 1952). Hemlocks are at home at Castle Fine, about 2 miles above the mouth of Muddy Creek, in York Co. (Mason letter), and a short distance up the valley of Fishing Creek, Lancaster Co., about 5 miles north of the state line (my personal observation).

groves in the Barrens. At that time hemlocks appear to have gone by the name of "yew trees" in Maryland.¹⁴⁷ "The yew trees" were once a landmark on Deer Creek.¹⁴⁸

One of the outstanding sights of the Barrens must have been great flocks of birds, such as crows, blackbirds and wild pigeons, winging their way across the waste. The classical description of the flight of wild pigeons was written by Colonel William Byrd, of Westover: "The Flocks of these Birds of Passage are so amazingly great, Sometimes, that they darken the Sky,; nor is it uncommon for them to light in such Numbers on the Larger Limbs of Mulberry-Trees and Oaks as to break them down."¹⁴⁹

Wild pigeons ate acorns and berries. They are said to have been particularly fond of sassafras berries. To judge by local place-names, there were several localities in the Barrens to which they resorted at certain times of the year in order to feast. One of these was the area variously known as the Pigeon Ground, Pigeon Hill, and the Pigeon Ground Glade, at the head of a valley descending northwards towards Broad Creek, at Mill Green, in Harford Co.¹⁵⁰ Another place in the Barrens, which, apparently,

¹⁴⁷ The Oxford English Dictionary cites a letter, written in 1776, in which mention is made of a "species of cedar here called hemlock" which grew on certain rocky islands in Lake George, N. Y. This appears to be a case of what classical scholars call a *bapax legomenon*. No earlier use of the word for abies canadensis is cited. It seems probable that this application of the word hemlock came down to Maryland from the north, and arrived here late. "Baker's Delight," surveyed for John Baker, April 23, 1714, is described as situated in Baltimore Co., "beginning at a bounded red oak standing on the south side of Potapscoe Main river respecting to the eastward a great heap of rocks and *ew trees* on the north side of the sd. falls," (Patent Records for Land, Liber E. E. No. 5, f. 310). Benjamin Buckingham deeded this land to James Hood, July 29, 1758, (Baltimore Co. Land Records, Liber B. No. G., f. 209). This deed calls for the south side of the main falls of Patapsco, "respecting to the eastward a great heap of rocks and *yew trees*." This land lies at what was formerly called Air's Ford, on the Main Falls of the Patapsco, at Hood's Mill, later Ellicott's Upper Mill, on the Old Frederick Road. The State Department of Forests and Parks knows of no stand of hemlocks growing today in this vicinity, but reports that such a stand was cut down to build the new Liberty Reservoir Dam on the North Branch of the Falls, (Letter, Karl E. Pfeiffer to author, December 17, 1953).

¹⁴⁸ On August 10, 1752, there was surveyed for Enoch Ridon, of Baltimore Co., a tract of land called "Rigdon's Reserve," 155 acres, which is described as situated "on the north side of Deer Creek . . . a little above the *Yew trees*." (Unpatented Certificate 1384, Baltimore Co.). Trace of this land is lost to the author, and its situation is unknown. On April 10, 1749, there was surveyed for John Miles a tract of land, containing 20 acres, situated "in the Reserve, on the *Yew Tree Ridge*." (Land Office, Proprietary Leases, Liber B., f. 147).

¹⁴⁹ William Byrd, *op. cit.*, p. 216.

¹⁵⁰ In will of James Brice, Baltimore Co., April 21, 1765, testator leaves to his son, Thomas, a small tract of reserve land called *ye Pidgeon Hill*. (Will Book 3, f. 7, Baltimore Co.). Many other references are in the hands of the author.

owed its name to the fact that it was the resort of wild pigeons, was the Pigeon Woods, which was situated east of the road between Shawsville and Maryland Line, probably much nearer the latter, at the head of a branch of Deer Creek.¹⁵¹ These poetical place-names are not to be found on modern maps, and it is likely that they are lost to memory.

As to the fauna of the Barrens, there is no reason to believe that it differed from that of other parts of the piedmont region of Maryland, unless the buffalo roamed there before the advance of settlements frightened him away. A shy animal, present, if at all, in small numbers, he might have vanished from every part of the Barrens by about 1730. What with hunters and prospectors invading his domain, surveyors laying out lands, and overseers of highways opening up roads, he would have departed, whither, no man knows. Never a denizen of the forest, the buffalo was found, as late as 1774, in the Glades of the Youghougheny, in what is now Garrett Co.¹⁵² Did he ever range farther to the east in this province? In his *Journal* (1632) Henry Fleete, the Indian trader, writing as his ship lay at anchor near the head of tidewater in Potomac River, notes the fact that buffaloes, among other wild beasts, frequented the woods thereabouts.¹⁵³ The anonymous author of *A Relation of Maryland* (1635) mentions buffaloes among the wild creatures which lived "in great store" in "the upper parts of the Countrey."¹⁵⁴ This could hardly mean in places remote to the westward, since the other creatures therein mentioned, the elk, the "lion" (panther), the bear, the wolf, and the deer, occurred everywhere in the province. The Barrens were

¹⁵¹ "Agreement in Love," surveyed for William Wiley, August 29, 1766, is described as situated "on the South side of the head of a draft of Deer Creek above the Pegion Woods." (William Smith's Survey Book, Bouldin Papers, 1765, City Hall Library, Baltimore.)

In recent times, among the places where wild pigeons congregated in the Fall, were The Soldiers Delight (q.v.) and the Horse Ponds, both in Baltimore Co. The Horse Ponds were some shallow depressions in the ground where water collected in winter, situated between the Great Falls of Gunpowder River and the road going from Quinlin's Corner, on the Belair Road, to the Harford Road, in Hayes's Woods, once a part of the Perry Hall estate. This resort of wild pigeons was famous in its day.

See also "Forked Meadow" and "Anderson's Intention" (Unpat. Cert. 543 and 106, Balto. Co.) re pigeon woods.

¹⁵² See Romeo Mansueti, "Extinct and Vanishing Mammals of Maryland and District of Columbia," *The Maryland Naturalist*, I-II, 9.

¹⁵³ "The Journal of Henry Fleete," in Neill's *Founders of Maryland*, p. 27.

¹⁵⁴ *Narratives of Early Maryland*, op. cit., p. 80.

the sort of country, open, but in no sense arid, where the buffalo would have been at home. There, in the grassy glades and natural meadows along the streams we should almost have expected to find him. He used about marshy places and loved "canes and reeds."¹⁵⁵ But if he was ever there in the Barrens, not merely as a "stray," but as a regular visitor, if not as a native, positive proof of the fact has not been found. All that we have to go on is a possible indication, in the shape of the name of a watercourse, taken in conjunction with the presence in its neighborhood of certain curious, shallow depressions in the ground, which used to be pointed out by the older inhabitants, of a generation now deceased, as "buffalo wallows." A place or stream-name is very far from proof of the former presence of an animal at that place to which it is applied, if the possibility of its presence is seriously disputed.¹⁵⁶ Natives of the valley of Buffalo Branch and its vicinity may well have inferred from its name that these depressions were buffalo wallows, when no other explanation suggested itself. These objections are well taken; but, on the other hand, that they were buffalo wallows may be a fact which was never lost to tradition.

Buffalo Branch rises near Yeoho, in the Fifth District of Baltimore Co., within the former area of the Barrens, and joins Piney Run (not to be confused with the Piney Run of Western Run) in the Eighth District, about a mile above Priceville. Piney Run empties into the Great Falls of Gunpowder River at Sparks. The full name of Buffalo Branch seems to have been *The Miry Buffalo*.¹⁵⁷ The name of the Buffalo Branch proves to be one of relatively early date, being first recorded about the time of the settlement of that part of Baltimore Co. in which this stream is situated. It occurs in an order of Baltimore Co. Court respecting roads, issued in August, 1728,¹⁵⁸ and again, in an order of court

¹⁵⁵ Col. William Byrd, *op. cit.*, p. 160.

¹⁵⁶ I have in mind the name of Buffalo Creek in Dorchester Co., Md. (*Mansueti, op. cit.*, p. 9.) A Delaware place-name, namely, that of Dragon Swamp, in New Castle Co., a name of considerable antiquity, is very puzzling. Alligators used to be called "dragons"; but no one will believe that alligators once inhabited this swamp. That the swamp was named for dragon-flies may be possible, but is hardly likely. Country people call them "snake feeders" or "snake doctors."

¹⁵⁷ "Proverty Parts Good Company," surveyed for Thomas Broad in 1760, is described as situated at "the head of a branch called the Miry Buffelo of Piney Run that descends into the falls of Gunpowder." Unpatented Certificate No. 1298, Baltimore Co.)

¹⁵⁸ Baltimore Co. Court Proceedings, Liber I. S. No. 6, 1728-1730, August Court, 1728, Hall of Records, Annapolis.

issued to overseers of roads, in November, 1733.¹⁵⁹ The earliest survey in which we find the name of Buffalo Branch is that called "Absalom's Chance," laid out for William Barney, May 17, 1732, and described as lying in Baltimore Co., "beginning at two bounded white oaks standing in the fork of the Buffeloe branch which descends into the Piney Run of Gunpowder Falls."¹⁶⁰ A tract of land called "Buffeloe" was surveyed for William Anderson, April 26, 1731,¹⁶¹ "Buffaloe" lies on the south side of the Cold Bottom Road, not more than 1¼ miles northwest of Priceville, within ¾ mile of the mouth of Buffelo Branch, on both sides of that stream.¹⁶² Worthy of mention is a piece of leased land, situated on Buffalo Branch, bearing the curious and suggestive name of "Fat Buffelow," which was laid out for John Lemmon, June 10, 1761.¹⁶³

The land called "Buffeloe" lies in the vicinity of (if it does not include a part of) a group of "buffalo wallows," which used to be pointed out and so designated by the old people of this neighborhood—shallow depressions in the ground, not otherwise easily explained. Dr. Arthur G. Tracey, of Hampstead, Carroll Co., Md., an experienced antiquary, and, what is equally important, a man well acquainted with farming and with country life in general, first observed these "wallows" some years ago.

¹⁵⁹ Baltimore Co. Court Proceedings, November Court, 1733, Hall of Records, Annapolis.

¹⁶⁰ Patented Certificate No. 18, Baltimore Co.

¹⁶¹ Patent Records for Land, Liber A. M. No. 1, f. 124.

¹⁶² The situation of "Buffeloe" has been carefully worked out by the author, who believes that the chances of error are slight. This land is entirely surrounded by later surveys, namely, "Cold Bottom" and "Holland's Commission." The former, 590 acres of vacant land, was surveyed for John Ensor, son of Abraham, April 1, 1787, and is described as situated in the Reserve, "Beginning at a bounded Pine tree standing on the east side of the Piney Run near a Bottom called Cold Bottom." (Patented Certificate No. 1132, Baltimore Co.) The beginning of "Cold Bottom" is situated about 1-½ miles southeast of the beginning of "Buffeloe." The place called Cold Bottom lies on Piney Run above Priceville. It gave its name to the Cold Bottom Road. "Holland's Commission," surveyed for John Francis Holland, March 27, 1787, begins at the beginning of "Buffeloe," and has a boundary on Buffalo Branch. It is a resurvey on two early tracts of land, "Atheliah's Lott" and "Broad's Desire," both surveyed for Thomas Broad. (Patented Certificate No. 2347, Baltimore Co.)

¹⁶³ Proprietary Leases, Liber B, f. 23. The late date of this survey would seem to indicate that the name is fanciful and does not relate to an incident, since it is almost incredible that the buffalo, if ever he did frequent those parts, lingered on in this valley until 1761, although a considerable amount of land lying thereabouts remained "vacant." There is a definite possibility, however, that the name bestowed upon this survey was a place-name which dated from the time of the first settlement of that part of the county, or not much later.

Their outlines, he says, have since been blurred by cultivation. He has seen the "buffalo wallows" of the West. Is this a case of an apocryphal attribution on the part of the natives, or one of a genuine tradition? This author believes the chance that it is the latter is too important to warrant the omission of the subject. We have it from Dr. Tracey that the largest of these "buffalo wallows" is situated on what was formerly the Bull farm, near the head of Buffalo Branch, on the road between Yeoho and Cedar Grove. When Dr. Tracey first saw it, it measured about 75 feet across, and had an extreme depth of, perhaps, 8 feet. Smaller, but otherwise similar shallow depressions, locally identified as "buffalo wallows," were situated lower down the valley of Buffalo Branch, and might be seen by persons driving along the Cold Bottom Road.

It is quite possible that the Barrens were the last stand of the panther and the wolf in Maryland east of the Monocacy River. Panthers (also called "painters" and "lions") inhabited all parts of Maryland,¹⁶⁴ but were probably never very common anywhere.¹⁶⁵ They lived in the back country, and, after the founding and spreading of the colony, were probably seldom seen in the necks. Persecuted as they were, from the beginning, by the planters, they must have taken refuge in deep swamps, rocky fastnesses and barrens. The wolf was common everywhere in Maryland until persecution reduced his numbers, and finally exterminated him.

There is a record of the killing of a panther on the branch of a creek of the north side of Severn River some time before October 15, 1675.¹⁶⁶ In or near the Barrens several streams and tracts of

¹⁶⁴ The former existence of the panther on the "Delmarva" Peninsula is credibly based on inference. He must have been there. Very suggestive is the name of a tract of land laid out for Archibald Smith, in Somerset Co., May 12, 1707, and called "Painter's Den." The land is described as lying "on the north east side of a savanah," a likely place for a panther's lair. (Rent Holl, Somerset Co., Md., f. 248, Calvert Papers No. 885.) A more direct piece of evidence is the following. In examining the papers of the Parker family of Northampton Co., Va., the author came across reference to the killing of a panther in that county.

¹⁶⁵ The Maryland Assembly commonly offered rewards for the destruction of wolves, bears, squirrels, and crows, but never to my knowledge a bounty on panthers.

¹⁶⁶ In will of Wm. Crouch, of Anne Arundel (the Severn) River, dated October 15, 1675, there occurs the following item: "I give and bequeath unto my daughter Sarah Jones the wife of Thomas Jones, and her heirs forever a parcell of land called Crouches Calve Pasture together with apaartenances thereunto belonging containing by estimation thirty acres, but not to follow the line to the southward over the branch where James Smith and John Howard kill'd the lyon." (Hall of Records, Wills, Liber 5, f. 163). "Crouches Calve Pasture" lies on a creek formerly called Crouches Creek, a branch of the north side of Severn River.

land bear old names which imply the former presence of the panther in those parts. Modern maps show Panther Branch descending from Hereford into the south side of the Western Prong of Great Gunpowder Falls. This name lays claim to some local antiquity.¹⁶⁷ Another Panther Branch empties into the Northern Prong of the Great Gunpowder Falls, on its eastern side, a short distance below Walker.¹⁶⁸ "Panther Hill" and "Panther Spring" were laid out on this stream.¹⁶⁹ Similar names of surveys situated within or very near the Barrens are: "The Sign of the Panther,"¹⁷⁰ "Painters Hills,"¹⁷¹ "Painters Level,"¹⁷² and "Panthers Lodge."¹⁷³ All of these last date from locally very early times.

¹⁶⁷ "Whitehead's Desire," laid out for Robert Whitehead Dec. 3, 1742, is described as lying in Baltimore Co., "on the South side of the Main Falls of Gunpowder River being part of the lands reserved for his Lordship's use, beginning at a bounded white oak on the south side of the Panter Branch." (Field Book, Col. Thomas White, Harford Co. Hist. Soc. MSS). A tract of land laid out for Whitehead, 1743, lies "on both sides of the Western fork of the Great Falls of Gunpowder River, in his Lordship's reserve . . . at the mouth of a branch called Painter Branch." (*Ibid.*) On Aug. 30, 1774, commissioners appointed to evaluate the land of Aquila Price in Baltimore Co., then in the tenure of Mordecai Price, for Leah, the daughter of the deceased Aquila, found it to contain 200 acres, of which 125 were cleared, and authorized the clearing of 2 acres more to make a meadow "on a branch called The Painter Branch." (Baltimore Co. Land Records, Liber A. L. No. L., 1774-1775, f. 37). I believe these records all refer to one and the same stream, called the Panther Branch, which rises near Hereford.

¹⁶⁸ The name of this Panther Branch does not appear on any map, so far as this author knows; but the author was informed by the late John Mays Little that this stream still (1916) went by the name of Panther Branch, the name by which it was known in old times.

¹⁶⁹ "Panther Hill," surveyed for James Calder, Oct. 6, 1790, lies in the Reserve. The survey calls for Panther Branch, Raccoon Branch, for "Castle Calder" and for "Upper Woody Hill." (Patented Certificate No. 3681, Baltimore Co.). "Panther Spring," surveyed for James Calder, June 6, 1792, calls for Panther Branch, and "Upper Woody Hill." (Survey Book of Baltimore Co., 1771, Peabody Library, Baltimore). Panther Branch is mentioned in the survey of "Littleworth," as returned by James Calder in 1782 (*Ibid.*). "Upper Woody Hill," surveyed for James Calder, June 18, 1784, is bounded by the land of Daniel Curfman (Curfamstadt). The survey calls for Panther Branch, Raccoon Branch, and a path with the singular name of Old Hill's Hay Road. (Patented Certificate No. 5036, Baltimore Co.).

¹⁷⁰ "The Sign of the Panther," occasionally called "The Sign of the Painter," (meaning the claw marks of a panther on a tree?), was surveyed for John and Luke Wyley, Aug. 22, 1727, and is described as situated in Baltimore Co., "in the fork between the Great Falls of Gunpowder River and Western Run" (recorded at Land Office). This survey lies northwest of Glencoe, on the York Road, at or near the nineteenth milestone. This milestone stands a little below a crossroads called Verona. A deed, dated October 29, 1813, from John M. Gorsuch to Dickinson Gorsuch, sons of John Gorsuch, calls for a parcel of land or farm composed of "Gorsuch's Retirement Resurveyed" and "The Sign of the Panther," of which the aforesaid Gorsuch died possessed. Mention is made therein of the 19th milestone on the York Road. (Baltimore Co. Land Records, Liber W. G. No. 126, f. 63).

¹⁷¹ "Painters Hills" was surveyed for John Parrish, Oct. 6, 1731, and is

The usual way of getting rid of wolves was trapping them in pits. The number of Maryland places and streams named for wolf-pits was formerly considerable. A few of these names are still in use. Wolf-pits are occasionally called for in early certificates of survey. In this way we find out that a wolf-pit was situated near a bounded tree of the land called "Daniel's Whimsey," on Jones's Falls, in Baltimore Co.¹⁷⁴ Research in the county land records reveals the fact that the site of this wolf-pit is in or near the Hampden Reservoir, in Baltimore City! In 1726 an old wolf-pit was to be seen near a boundary of a tract of land called "Elizabeth's Choice," on a branch of the head of a creek of Gunpowder River then known as Preston's Creek, but now called Hog Point Creek, or Reardon's Inlet.¹⁷⁵ The site lies between Mangolia and Edgewood, in Harford Co.

Wolves commonly had their lairs in caves and rock-shelters. True caves, perhaps, hardly occurred in the Barrens. Many, if not all, of the rock shelters which we now observe in that part of Maryland have doubtless in their time harbored wolves and

described as situated "on a branch of the Black Rock Run which descends into the Western Run of Gunpowder Falls." (Patent Records of Land, Liber A. M. No. 1, f. 225). Parrish sold this land to Christopher Cole, Jan. 24, 1737. (Baltimore Co. Land Records, Liber H. W. S. No. I. A., f. 59). Cole later took up adjacent land.

¹⁷³ "Painters Level" was surveyed for John Bosley, Nov. 7, 1728, and is described as situated "in the Reserve, adjoining a tract of land called Panthers Hill." (Patent Records for Land, Liber I. L. No. B., f. 267). The survey calls for "the fork of Black Rock Run." On Jan. 28, 1760, there was laid out for Jacob Scott a tract of land called "Addition to Painters Level." (Proprietary Leases, Liber B, f. 502). This land is described as "Lying on the north side of Rock Ridge by a branch called Indian Run." On April 17, 1756, Samuel Tipton conveyed to Jacob Scott, then of Pennsylvania, "Painter's Leavell," which he purchased of John Bosley, to whom it was patented. (Baltimore Co. Land Records, Liber B. B. No. 1.) It is evident that these lands lie together in the valley of Indian Run (still so called), the principal branch of Black Rock Run.

¹⁷⁴ "Panthers Lodge" was surveyed for Christopher Cole, March 31, 1743, and is described as situated in the Reserve, adjacent to a tract called "Panthers Hill." (Unpatented Cert. No. 1198, Baltimore Co.). Cole was already in possession of "Painters Hills," (note 166), and to me it seems a fair assumption that "Painters Hills" and "Panthers Hill" are names of the same tract.

¹⁷⁵ Baltimore Co. Court Proc., Land Commissions, Liber H. W. S. No. 4, f. 58: John Cole, Jr., his land commission on a tract of land called "Daniels Whimsey," situated on Jones's Falls, 1737-1741. John Cole, Sr., aged 67, deposed that John Christian showed him "a bounded spanish oak standing in the line of Roberts Park near a woolf-Pitt" (*sic*) and told him it was the third boundary of Daniels Whimsey. Recorded, 1741.

¹⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, Liber I. S. No. H., f. 262: Deed of gift, Josias Hendon to son-in-law, James Isham, August, 1726, Elizabeth's Choice, 100 acres, situated on the east side of Gunpowder River, "beginning at four bounded white oaks standing near the Middle Branch descending into Prestons Creek and near and (*sic*) old wolfe pit and running thence with a line of Lodowicks Ridge," &c.

panthers, but there is rarely a record of the fact. However, if anyone is curious to see a well-authenticated wolf's den, he may see it in a cavity in the rocks on the eastern side of the North Prong of Great Gunpowder Falls, immediately below the mouth of the Fourth Mine Run (formerly the Mirey Branch), at Parkton.¹⁷⁶ This site, as noted above, was in the Barrens.

Wolves were sufficiently numerous in Montgomery, Baltimore and Harford Counties, as late as 1797-98, to give the lawmakers concern on account of their depredations.¹⁷⁷ It is reliably stated that up to 1830 wolves were hunted by one William Spence along the Susquehanna River in Harford Co.¹⁷⁸ The author has it on good authority that, during a winter of the war of 1812-14, residents of the Green Spring Valley, in Baltimore Co. heard the cry¹⁷⁹ of woves at night.¹⁸⁰ A Harford Co. historian has reported (1880) that the Rocks of Deer Creek was the site of the killing of the county's last wolf; but the event is not dated.¹⁸¹

It is not unlikely that by 1850 wolves were extinct everywhere in Maryland east of the Appalachians.

Records of bounties paid by the Baltimore Co. court for wolves'

¹⁷⁶ Patented Cert. 5345, Baltimore Co., Wolf Den, 9 acres, surveyed for James Calder, June 6, 1789, lying in Baltimore Co., "Beginning at the mouth of a Wolf Den lying at the foot of a Great Steep Rock being a Cave on the South East Side of the Northern Prong of Gunpowder falls a few perches below the Mouth of the Mirey Branch where it Empties into the said Prong & running thence north thirty eight degrees west twelve perches to a Large Rock on the other side of the said Prong mark B O 1782," &c.

¹⁷⁷ In 1797 the Maryland Assembly, seeing that wolves were reported to be very numerous in Baltimore Co. and were destroying great numbers of sheep, passed an act to encourage their extermination. (Acts of Assembly, 1797, Ch. VI.) The same year the Assembly passed an Act to destroy wolves and crows in Harford, Montgomery and Cecil Cos. (Acts of Assembly, 1797, Ch. XXII). (See also Mason, *op. cit.*, pp. 43, 44, and Preston, *op. cit.*, p. 71).

¹⁷⁸ Mason, *op. cit.*, p. 43.

¹⁷⁹ It is customary to speak of wolves "howling." In July, 1905, this author, while camping on Rabbit Lake, west of Lake Temiskaming, Ontario, heard wolves *yelping* one evening some distance away in the "bush."

¹⁸⁰ The late Dr. E. Parkin Keech (1844-1924) told the author that he got this information from his mother, Mrs. Susan Scott Keech, wife of the Rev. John Ryder Keech. Mrs. Keech spent a winter in the Green Spring Valley during the war. Mrs. Keech was a sister of Henrietta Scott, the wife of Dr. Samuel Chew, and the mother of the late Dr. Samuel Clagett Chew.

¹⁸¹ T. T. Wysong, *The Rocks of Deer Creek*, (Baltimore, 1880), p. 2. In 1922 the author was told by the late Edmund Grove Kurtz, of Jarrettsville, Harford Co., father of his friend, Martin G. Kurtz, that he had been informed by old Mrs. Rebecca Smith, "who died about 40 years ago at the age of ninety-eight," that she remembered the time when there were bears and wolfs around and about the Rocks. Wysong mentions here (p. 98) as the then (1880) oldest inhabitant of the Rocks, aged 95.

heads (not infrequently designated as of "Indian killing") are early and sporadic; consequently, they have no bearing upon the question of the diminution in numbers and final extinction of the wolf in that county. In 1674 the county paid the estate of Gothofrid Harmer, the Indian trader of Gunpowder Neck, 2000 lbs. of tobacco for wolves' heads.¹⁸² This is the earliest record for the county which we have in hand. The county levy for November, 1685, shows payment of bounties on 30 wolves' heads. In 1692 the court paid bounties on 56 wolves' heads; in 1695, on 44.¹⁸³ The number of bounties paid from 1701 to 1706, inclusive, was 364.¹⁸⁴ After 1706 we have no full record until 1737, when the number of bounties paid for wolves' heads was 46.¹⁸⁵

The skin of the wolf was of little value, and, like the beaver, it was not the custom to eat him. Legends and fables concerning wolves did not come over to Maryland with the early settlers and attach themselves to the native wolf. He does not seem to have been feared, as he was on the Continent of Europe, and, even when running in packs, he probably seldom attacked man.¹⁸⁶ Traditions concerning wolves may have come down in some old Maryland neighborhoods, but of them this author knows nothing, save what he has already reported. In his own neighborhood the oldest inhabitants had nothing to say to him on the subject.¹⁸⁷

¹⁸² From an inventory of the estate of Gothofrid Harmer, of Baltimore Co., Hall of Records, Annapolis, Inventories, I, f. 48.

¹⁸³ These data were taken by the author from the Baltimore Co. Court Proceedings, Hall of Records, Annapolis.

¹⁸⁴ The manuscript of the Baltimore Co. levies, 1701-1706, is in the Maryland Historical Society.

¹⁸⁵ The Baltimore Co. tax list for 1737 was discovered at the City Hall by Wm. N. Wilkens, of this city, who made a copy of it, which he presented to this Society.

¹⁸⁶ It was no doubt, however, at one time the general belief that a man or a woman, alone and unarmed in the woods, might be killed by a wild beast. Among the proceedings of a court held for Baltimore Co., Sept., 1694, (f. 303 &c) is the deposition of Katharine Lomax, a runaway servant, who testified that while hiding in a loft at Thomas Heath's (on Gunpowder River), one Richard Bright happened by, who inquired for her, and was told by Sarah Heath that "she did believe the varment had destroyed me."

¹⁸⁷ The author's neighborhood is that which is bounded by the two "Falls" of Gunpowder River, the Bel Air Road, and the head of tidewater on the river. Two old people of this neighborhood, the late Mr. Stephen Haven Wilson, of Kingsville, and the author's cousin, the late Mr. Edward Augustus Day, of "Taylor's Mount," talked of wild turkeys, which became extinct in that part of the county in their youth. Nothing else of interest concerning the extinct birds and beasts of those parts ever elicited by this author from the old people, except accounts of wild pigeons. Here and there in our woods there must be remains of wolf-pits; but most of the mysterious holes in the ground one comes across in the woods of Maryland are caused when large trees are uprooted during wind storms.

SUMMARY

The Maryland Barrens were an extension of the York Barrens of Pennsylvania, with which they made one all along the Line between the Susquehanna and Deer Creek. Their southeastern limits, from Susquehanna River to Deer Creek are, for all historical purposes, well known. Elsewhere, their limits are less definitely known. The author believes that the accounts given by Messrs. Lloyd and Carroll are reliable, and that there is no serious reason to doubt them. The original absence of timber does not preclude the presence of extensive sapling lands, which in the course of time, if let alone, produced timber trees. Hence, many parts of the Barrens, in the later stages, may have presented the appearance of well wooded areas, and were advertised as such in the newspapers. Rich land more often than poor land in the Barrens may have been covered with saplings, but there seems to be no good reason why the better lands should not have been literally barren, or overgrown with bushes of no economic value, since the notoriously rich lands of the western plains, of the Garrett County glades and of the valley of the Shenandoah River were open prairies, wooded only along the watercourses. The appearance of our Barrens, unlike that of these prairies, was forbidding, in general, and may have led even competent observers to underestimate the quality of some of the land situated therein. While it was usually possible for a surveyor to find a mature tree in the Barrens whereat to begin his survey, nevertheless, just as one swallow does not make a summer, a single tree, or group of trees, does not make a forest. Some ancient bounded trees may, therefore, have been identified in recent times in what was once a typical section of the Barrens.

THE SPELL OF THE BARRENS

The uniform, monotonous wastes of the Earth—the deserts, the Arctic plains, great swamps and marshes—have the power to cast a spell upon the human soul. So it must have been with the Barrens.¹⁶⁸ The spirit which haunts the waste endues it with a

¹⁶⁸ A British poet (Stephen Phillips?) has included among the great, overpowering wastes of the earth the city of London. I quote from memory:

[At Charing Cross]

something infinitely more significant than mere beauty. The lovely reaches of the Thames between Oxford and Hampton court have all but faded from memory, but a scene in Northern Ontario remains, ineffable: a wet plain, overgrown with tamarack, bordering a lake. On shore, the log buildings of an abandoned Hudson Bay Company's post, long gone in decay. Behind the post, in the distance, a range of low mountains, with bare, polished, granite summits.

The spirit of the waste is sinister, yet wistful; it is morose, yet induces to melancholy. It is, perhaps, a phase of the Divine, yet it does not invite to worship. But let us excuse ourselves for attempting to define it, when others have done so much better. Among them should certainly be mentioned a Canadian official, Duncan Campbell Scott, upon whom the wilderness of the Albany River made an impression which he recorded as follows:¹⁸⁹

" . . . the lonely spirit of the stream becomes an obsession. It is ever-present, but at night it grows in power. Something is heard, and yet not heard: it rises and dwells, and passes mysteriously, like a suspiration immense and mournful, like the sound of wings, dim and enormous, folded down with weariness."¹⁹⁰

" It seemed that there was carried on the air
The dreadful, steady music of despair.

O London, what expanse of sea or land,
What blistering infinity of sand,
What australasian bush or arctic plain,
Or heaving silence of the middle main,
Has e'er the human spirit so subdued,
As thine innumerable solitude? "

I do not believe these lines could have been inspired by any one of our blatant American cities, except, perhaps, Philadelphia.

¹⁸⁹ "The Last of the Indian Treaties" (Canadian), by Duncan Campbell Scott, *Scribner's Magazine*, November, 1906.

¹⁹⁰ The original MSS of this article, containing additional references and supplementary data, is available for use in the Library of the Society.—*Ed.*

REVIEWS OF RECENT BOOKS

150 Years of Banking on the Eastern Shore. By ELLIOTT BUSE. Easton, 1955. 168 pp. \$4.

In *150 Years of Banking on the Eastern Shore* Elliott Buse has compiled a history of the Easton National Bank of Maryland of greater range and significance than that of the financial institution itself. What Mr. Buse has written, in short, is a very complete outline of the economic history of the Eastern Shore from the early 1800's to the present. It is, as far as this reviewer is aware, the first such study.

To present the story of this 25th oldest bank in the United States, whose beginnings reach back to 1805, Mr. Buse was not satisfied to confine it to narrow limits. Aware of the close relationship that exists between financial institutions and general business conditions, the author has blended the two with the result that the story of this prominent Eastern Shore bank becomes also an entertaining and valuable economic document for the entire region.

The life story of Easton National is told in full. The bank's eleven presidents, the reader learns, without exception, managed its affairs with such prudence and foresight that for a century and a half it shielded its depositors from loss, a most remarkable and praiseworthy accomplishment.

The material is compiled from original sources, and represents considerable research, not only among the bank's own records, but contemporary newspapers and periodicals. The Enoch Pratt and Peabody libraries, and especially the records of the Maryland Historical Society, were combed for background data.

An index would add to the usefulness of the volume.

RALPH J. ROBINSON

Baltimore Association of Commerce

Franklin D. Roosevelt: The Ordeal. By FRANK FREIDEL. Boston: Little, Brown, 1954. 320 pp. \$6.

This is the second volume of Frank Freidel's remarkable biography of Franklin D. Roosevelt, and in every respect it lives up to the promise of the first volume. It is extraordinary to find, so soon after the death of so controversial a figure, a biography to which one is tempted to give the adjective "definitive." Obviously, it will take many years before historians can speak with any confidence of having studied fully the events of Roosevelt's life. Ten years after his death, he is still a living campaign issue, both to his supporters and to his critics.

The years from 1918 to 1928, which are described in this book, were dominated, for Roosevelt, by the ordeal of his paralysis, and the struggle to recover the momentum of his political career after the disastrous defeat of his candidacy for the vice-presidency in the Harding landslide of 1920. It would be a bitter partisan indeed who could withhold admiration for F. D. R.'s courage and optimism during these years. He learned much about his profession of politics in the struggle to keep his name before the people in spite of illness and defeat; he also learned much of the necessary arts of compromise and flexibility, the results of which so deeply perplex both idolators and enemies. Roosevelt was a complex man, and a master of the subtle arts of political leadership, especially the knowledge of when to give way, how much and how easily, short of downright surrender of principle. Though such flexibility infuriates extreme partisans on both sides, it does have irreplaceable values in keeping a democracy on an even keel.

Mr. Freidel has maintained an even keel, also, in his interpretation of his subject. Extremists will dislike the book, no doubt, but all others will find that Freidel has done them a great service in presenting a confusing, often exasperating, but always fascinating man with clarity and objectivity which make a pattern out of the many aspects of Roosevelt's character and attainments. This is one of the most valuable books I have read for those who wish a reliable background for understanding the changes of our times. The great architect of New Deal social reform has found a biographer equal to his demands.

JOHN PHILIP HALL

University of Baltimore

Jean-Sylvain Bailly: Astronomer, Mystic, Revolutionary, 1736-1793. By EDWIN B. SMITH. Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1954. 111 pp. \$2.

Born in the Louvre, where his father was *Garde des Tableaux du Roi*, Jean-Sylvain Bailly had unusual intellectual opportunity, even though in the fields in which he attempted to attain success he was largely self-taught. Nevertheless, throughout his life he remained a *dilettante*. His first efforts to achieve recognition were literary. While in his twenties he wrote several plays and a number of poems. Realizing, however, that he had little literary talent, he soon turned to science. Patient, albeit mechanical, astronomical observations and the publication of his findings brought no appreciable recognition as an astronomer beyond election to the Academy of Sciences and a long and unhappy quarrel with some of his more competent contemporaries. As an historian writing on the development of astronomy and on ancient cultures he was at least readable and his work on the history of astronomy has never been completely superseded. Bailly's unorthodox interpretations of several ancient peoples brought him into a

public debate with Voltaire; needless to say Bailly enjoyed the publicity which the pamphlet-debate afforded. At any rate, Bailly was much more successful as an historian of science than as a practicing astronomer. In 1783 he was elected to the French Academy and during the next few years he was appointed to several important royal commissions: one, of which Benjamin Franklin was also a member, to investigate Mesmer's system of "Animal Magnetism" and another to examine a project for a new *Hotel-Dieu*. Foreign recognition also came with election to membership in academies in Holland and other European countries. In 1789 Bailly was but fifty-three years of age and had he not be drawn into the Revolution he might yet have established himself as an historian of high repute. His selection on April 21 as elector for Chaillot was the first step in his rise in Revolutionary politics which was to culminate in his becoming mayor of Paris. On November 12, 1793, he was executed as traitor to the Revolution.

Mr. Smith has given a picture of the intellectual development of what might be described as a minor *philosophe* and a not-quite-great participant in the first stages of the Revolution. Despite the great research efforts on the part of the author—as evidenced by the careful documentation and by what would seem must be a complete bibliography—Jean-Sylvain Bailly never becomes a real person. Begun as a doctoral dissertation (p. 428), a doctoral dissertation this volume remains. To use a term borrowed from the seminar, Mr. Smith never quite got out of his footnotes. About one-fifth of the text consists of direct quotations from Bailly's writings and this suggests the work's greatest strength as well as weakness, for it may be regarded, in a sense, as an edited selection from Bailly's writings. For those who would care to read further in the writings of the subject of this literary biography, Mr. Smith has appended a checklist of Bailly's published major works.

GLENN WEAVER

Connecticut College

The St. Augustine Expedition of 1740. Columbia: South Carolina Archives Dept., 1954. 182 pp.

This report is both interesting and valuable for the student of colonial American history. It gives, with much detail, a picture of the touchy relations between the mother country and the colonies and even between the colonies of South Carolina and Georgia, at a time when the southern English mainland settlements were seriously endangered by Spanish pressure from Florida. While the issues treated in the report, an investigation of the failure of an expedition commanded by General Oglethorpe against St. Augustine, are not in themselves of great moment, either then or now, the numerous affidavits and other first-hand accounts of events and people give the reader much information and insight which would be missing

from a more summary account. John T. Lanning's introduction is most helpful in guiding the reader through a mist of detail. The reprint has been handsomely made and the documents are well edited. The index leaves something to be desired, in that some entries have endless lists of references against them, with only rarely any sub-indexing to help the reader find what he wants. For example, there are seventy-six page listings for "Carolina Regiment," none differentiated from another. Surely the making of an index can be done in some way to avoid such an imposition upon the reader! With this minor complaint, I would compliment the South Carolina Archives Dept. for publishing so full and often diverting an account of a minor incident with major implications.

JOHN PHILIP HALL

University of Baltimore

After Saratoga: The Story of the Convention Army. By WILLIAM M. DABNEY. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1954. 90 pp. \$1.

This little volume of 90 pages is well written and extremely well documented. It gives in considerable detail the story of an almost forgotten chapter in American history, *i. e.* the six-years sojourn within the thirteen colonies of the nearly 6,000 British and Hessian soldiers who made up Burgoyne's army. Many persons do not know that these foreign troops remained as "internees" in America until the Revolutionary War was over because they "capitulated" to General Gates in 1777 under the terms of a military convention. This document provided that the surrendered army "should be returned to Great Britain upon condition of not serving again in North America during the present contest."

But—the convention did *not* say exactly *when* this return should take place,—and thus began the travels of the "conventioners" who were lodged at one time or another in eight of the thirteen states.

Because of the long drawn out controversy between the American Congress, and the British Crown, which would not "recognize" Congress, much correspondence of an official nature, accumulated. Perhaps one of the most unusual bits of documentation used in this study is the frontispiece, a copy of a letter from Sir Henry Clinton to General John Burgoyne, containing a secret message of greater urgency. Clinton, kept a copy of the letter, and its key. These are now in the "Clinton papers," at Ann Arbor, Michigan.

The story of the Baroness de Riedesel, who with her three little daughters, accompanied her husband, the commander of the German troops, adds much human interest to the narrative. The reviewer agrees with the writer in these conclusions.

"The relation between the Americans and the British and German conventioners was an enriching and enlightening experience for both sides. The journals kept by the veterans of the Saratoga campaign, and the letters they wrote, make up a discerning commentary on American society and institutions."

IDA BELLE W. THOMAS

State Teachers College, Salisbury

The Lost Account of the Battle of Corinth. Edited by MONROE F. COCKRELL. Jackson, Tenn.: McCowat-Mercer, 1955. 78 pp. \$1.50.

Major Matthew F. Steele's classic *American Campaigns* says of Shiloh "it is the hardest campaign of all for the student to solve." But the whole southwest area might be put in the same category in Civil War times, and Mr. Cockrell, the Illinois student of the Confederacy, thinks Corinth, Mississippi (twenty miles from Shiloh), might almost be classed with Steele's hard problem. *American Campaigns* disposes of Corinth in fifteen lines: Federal occupation of the town May 30, 1862, the decision of Earl Van Dorn, the Confederate general in command, to drive Union troops out, the assault of October 3rd, the stand at a redoubt, Fort Robiette (actually a hillock near the railroad station), and then—as Steele puts it—"by noon it was over and the Confederates were retreating." But Cockrell, who reprints his own study of 1954 as an appendix, speaks more fully; he has been lucky to find in an old house in Corinth this "lost account," whose author is unknown though his picture is shown. In addition to these 25 pages, Cockrell adds three pages from the court-martial proceedings against Van Dorn (in which Maryland's own Confederate, Gen. Lloyd Tilghman, took a part), an analysis of the troops at Corinth—235 Confederates killed, including the heroic Texan, Col. William F. Rogers, 1,263 wounded, and 1,528 missing—, a sketch of Rogers by Mrs. M. R. Bolton, his daughter, and finally, Mr. Cockrell's own 21-page account, first delivered as a lecture at Lake Forest Academy in 1946. Tucked away in the cover, however, is the gem of the collection, Mr. Cockrell's fine-scale map of the battle, worthy of framing on a West Point wall.

ROGER THOMAS

Hall of Records, Annapolis

The Schwenkfelders during the French and Indian War. By GLENN WEAVER. Pennsburg, Pa.: The Society of the Descendants of the Schwenkfeldian Exiles, 1955. 19 pp.

A tiny band of the followers of Caspar Schwenckfeld, a contemporary of Martin Luther, sought refuge in Pennsylvania in 1734. Mr. Weaver, in this pamphlet, tells the story of their arrival and settlement, and of the difficulties encountered by this pacifist group during the French and Indian War. The pamphlet is an enlightening footnote to the story of religious toleration in America.

Doc Holliday. By JOHN MYERS MYERS. Boston: Little, Brown, 1955. 287 pp. \$4.50.

Although less well known today than such characters of the old West as Billy the Kid, Wyatt Earp, and the James brothers, John Henry Holliday had quite a reputation in his own day. Mr. Myers' book gives ample evidence of the latter and should help to correct the former. Seen through the author's eyes, "Doc," drinker, gambler, and outlaw though he was, becomes something of a hero to the reader, too. Devotees of the West of the late 19th century will find in this volume a solid addition to the books of the period.

The tradition that Holliday studied dentistry at a school in Baltimore is accepted by the author, though no corroborating evidence is known to exist.

NOTES AND QUERIES

A ROMP THROUGH THE RECORDS

By JOHN H. SCARFF¹

Anyone embarked upon the course of historical research among the English parish records will encounter many baffling shoals, sudden turns and reaches leading nowhere. But he will not be doomed always to unfruitful quest, and often from the vantage point of several later centuries he will encounter many gay and lively accounts that were far, I fancy, from amusing to those originally involved.

A recent revival of interest in public records has encouraged more attention to their preservation. Parish and county records are becoming better known, better arranged, and local historical societies are even publishing indices, lists, and calendars. One can, for instance, find transcriptions of the Oxfordshire records at the Bodleian Library. There one can escape the cold, drafty and dusty muniment rooms and, seated, work at ease in warmth and comfort.

One will find that in many parishes records, because of the frequent changes in administration and consequent neglect or delegation of custody to those who have neither interest nor knowledge, invaluable documents have disappeared. The present writer's researches have been greatly aided and supplemented by Mr. W. E. Tate, who in *The Parish Chest* (Cambridge University Press, 1951) has collected a mass of hitherto neglected material, which I use freely.

In one parish, "in the past" the records were used for lighting fires; in another "many years ago" in a dispute the documents were thrown into the fire by one of the disputants. Once again a number of old papers and other relics were destroyed on the ground of their age! At H—— the records were "mouldy and illegible and were all burnt." Mr. Sidney Webb states:² "Each of the 11,000 parishes existing at the beginning of the last century should have as well as the registers, 'churchwardens' Accounts from the fourteenth century at least, Surveyors of Highways Accounts from the seventeenth century, vestry minutes possibly from the sixteenth and certainly from seventeenth or eighteenth centuries, and poor relief accounts for at least a couple of centuries, and the preservation of a representative series of parochial records in any recognised custody is a rare exception."

¹ Mr. Scarff spent a week in Oxford in the past winter searching old parish records, including transcriptions in the MSS room of the Bodleian Library.—*Ed.*

² Quoted in Tate, *op. cit.*, pp. 6-7.

Even so in the scattered parishes and counties of England there must be even now a colossal quantity of priceless historical material. It would be of interest to the genealogist, the antiquary, the economic and social historian, the biographer and to the student of agricultural history or the development of institutions. To anyone with time it would be a fascinating quest. The church buildings themselves are rewarding even though swept clean of every vestige of record by the zeal of some parish official or the spring cleaning fervor of some vicar's wife or daughter. There is always the possibility of finding a mass of material dating back to mediaeval times by means of which one could obtain a kind of key hole view of the life of humble folk of past centuries.

Sometimes discoveries are tragic or pathetic—even comic. I here transcribe some interesting entries:

" Margerie Deconsonne the wife of Bartholomew Deconsonne . . . fiftie yeares of age a tall slender woman, providently thrifty, perhaps I should say stingy shee leaving this life on Monday was buried on Tuesday the 30 of April (1588)."

" Willm Forrest about 60 years of age a cuninge fellow I will not say crafty, meager in faith, extravagant in hope of eternal life, if one may make an inference from words, which are the index of the mind, but in handie woork as ditchinge, mowinge, sheip-clippinge & such like skilful: was buried December XXVIIIth Tuesday."

From Winchester in 1669 is the note: " She was sunge to her grave by the Quire " and a later entry in another hand " Merry doings."

Many missing registers suffered such fates as burning, loss, lending without return, destruction by fire, water, damp, lightning, silverfish, rats, mice, or parish clerks. Other typical notes: removed with the vicar's books, used by the village grocer for wrapping his wares, abstracted by the churchwardens, purloined by the lord of the manor, thrown on a dung heap, made into tea kettle holders by the curate's wife, thrown on the fire by the parson's wife in a rage with her husband, cut into labels by a sporting parson for addressing presents of game to his friends. In one place odd leaves were given away to visitors as souvenirs, in another they were " burnt by the parson in singeing a goose." One set was given to the old women in the village " to wrap their knitting pins." Perhaps the most grotesque of all fates that overtook any series of registers was that of a set which was buried in the churchyard to swathe round the corpse of the parish clerk's grandmother. Another set had their entries obliterated during the accouchement of the parson's pet greyhound bitch, who had chosen the parish chest for her whelping and whom the parson declined to disturb. Again as late as 1824 a register was taken away and never returned, the culprit being, of all people, the archdeacon!

Among the most interesting of the burial entries are those relating to burials in wollen under the act of 1666 and a more famous successor act of 1678, which provided that: " no corpse of any person (except those who shall die of the plague) shall be buried in any shirt, shift, or shroud or

anything whatsoever made or mingled with flax, hemp, silk, hair, gold or silver, or any stuff or thing, other than what is made of sheep's wool only . . . or be put into any coffin lined or faced with . . . any other material but sheep's wool only." Heavy penalties were ordered upon those neglecting to comply with it. Affidavits were required and recorded. These Burial in Woollen Acts must form one of the classical instances of protectionist legislation. It was not until the 18th and 19th centuries that burial in coffins became universal.

The poor of the various parishes were always troublesome. Sometimes generosity was shown and "meddisonne" and clothing was paid for. A pathetic series of entries runs:

1677 a paire of bodies for Dorithy Routh	3s. 4d.
Two shifts cloth and makeing and a yeard of cloth for white clothing for Dori: Routh	3s. 11d.
A paire of stockings and sum meddisonne for her	1s. 0d.
A sute of shows for Dor. Routh	5s. 6d.
Dorithy Routh buriing	2s. 10d.

In 1776 the overseers in every quarter of one parish were instructed "to take account of all paupers' goods which may require weekly pay" and inventories of their effects were made so that the parish should not be cheated "when they died and the goods fell to the parish." There was a certain generosity in the treatment of pauper children:

1724 For bread & beer at ye children's breaking up at Christmas	9d.
1738 Pd for 12 pound of cherries for ye children in ye house	6d.
1744 Gave to ye children at Fair	2s. 8d.
Gave the children & old people in the work house Christmas presents	7s. 6d.

There was an attempt as late as 1830 to make the poor-law relief more or less self-supporting. The minutes record a resolution that "the paupers of the parish be taught to knit stockings, especially the women and old men."

The orthography of 17th and 18th century parish officers is often eccentric in the extreme and the searcher must be prepared to translate for instance:

and setterer	into	etc.
arter davis		affidavit
born on the bear		borne on the bier
cervaers		surveyors
cilling a notter		killing an otter
cinges aremes		king's arms
disses		decease
double cats		duplicates

feyseytashyn
frant and sens
jelan orspitle
phes
waichin ye sorples
yngeounseon

visitation
frankincense
jail and hospital
fees
washing the surplice
injunction

Since in an average parish the registers may date back to the 17th century the inexperienced researcher must expect some difficulty in deciphering the handwriting. At first it appears incomprehensible, but it is remarkable how understandable it becomes after a day's practice. It bears a close resemblance to the German Gothic script of the 20th century. Certain pairs of letters have only minor distinguishing characteristics that may easily at first be overlooked.

The amateur historian is often puzzled in dates by the difference between Old Style and New Style, the beginning of the year of grace, and that of the regnal years of successive rulers, etc. A list or table of Saints' Days would be useful, the dates for Easter, and, in London, the Lord Mayor's Day.

I hope these few observations will prove useful to anyone contemplating historical research in England. As soon as one has learned his way around and knows what the various libraries contain the search is interesting and often rewarding. Not till a return home will a Baltimorean discover that most English published records can be quickly and easily found in the Peabody Library.

DAVY CROCKETT AT "OLD SPRINGDALE"

By HELEN H. LEEDS TORRENCE and ROBERT M. TORRENCE

"Old Springdale," at York, Pennsylvania, was the country place of the Honorable Charles A. Barnitz,¹ which he built in 1820-1821 and was so named by his wife, Margaret Grier Barnitz, because it contained some seven springs and a small valley. It remained in the possession of his descendants until the late 1940s, after which it fell into unappreciative hands and was demolished. For over 120 years, it was the meeting place for brilliant and famous people and was known for its unusual social and intellectual activities. The celebrated Davy Crockett was a visitor here.

Charles A. Barnitz was born September 11, 1780; died January 8, 1850; admitted to the York County Bar April 3, 1810; elected a member of the Congress of the United States, 1833-1835,² when this District embraced Lancaster and York Counties.³ It was during this Session

¹ The original name was Barnidt, Dermstadt, Germany.

² *Biographical Dictionary of the American Congress* (1949), p. 817.

³ John Gibson, *History of York County*, p. 443.

that Barnitz and Davy Crockett became friends. At this time Charles Barnitz was recognized as the head of the York Bar and represented the Penn Family interests in "Springettsbury Manor," serving as such until his death. He was also president of the York Bank. His term as Associate Judge expired in 1840, after which he was Chief Burgess until 1848.⁴

While Barnitz is a German name, Charles was mostly Scotch, since his mother was Mary McLean and his grand-father was the well known Archibald McLean, who, with his brothers, as chief associates, surveyed the Western portion of the Mason and Dixon Line in 1763-1767.⁵ Prior to this, during 1760-1763, they surveyed the "Middle Point" between Cape Henlopen and the Chesapeake Bay; located the great "Tangent Line" through the peninsula; traced the "Circle" around New Castle, Delaware. After completing the Mason and Dixon work, they also established the latitude and longitude for the City of New York.⁶

In 1811 Charles A. Barnitz married Margaret Grier, a daughter of Colonel David Grier who studied law under the famous James Smith, a Signer of the Declaration of Independence who served under General Washington during the Revolutionary War.

It was in connection with an important lawsuit concerning the Penn Family interests in Springettsbury Manor, tried before Chief Justice, John Marshall, that Barnitz must have met and become friends of Henry Clay and Daniel Webster, who were attorneys vs. the Attorney General.⁷

The previously related facts have been stated in order to better understand the references to be noted in the letter to follow, it having been written in March, most probably in 1834, by David Grier Barnitz, aged about 18, a son of Charles Barnitz, to David's sister, Mary M. Barnitz, who was visiting in Cincinnati, Ohio. David was a member of the first graduating class at the Pennsylvania College, at Gettysburg, Pennsylvania, the oldest Lutheran College in the United States, established in 1832.

This letter was written from "Old Springdale" at a time when he was studying law. It should be remembered that Davy Crockett's visit here was but a short time before he started out on his famous "Tour" starting on April 25, 1834. The letter, of which one sheet evidently is missing, follows:

"... her rounds at an awful rate. After starting, it was all easy enough and, I then danced and waltzed all the evening, and at two o'clock I left the party. But, the most tragic part of my story remains to be told.

"After I had gone to the Ball, a young married couple came to Mrs. Walker's⁸ to board and, as my bed was the only double one, she put them into my room. She left the servant to tell me, but unfortunately he fell asleep. As soon as I came home, I went up into my room and, it being dark in the room, undressed silently and jumped into bed on the

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 96, 97, 436, 578.

⁵ *Encyclopedia Brit.*, Vol. 17, p. 841.

⁶ Gibson, *op. cit.*, p. 395.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 98.

⁸ In Gettysburg, Pa.

top of Mr. and Mrs. Guest!!! She, poor soul squealed like a stuck pig and he, as he told me next morning, thought heaven and earth were coming together. By this time, Posey, your friend, had awakened and called me into the room. Mr. Guest must have thought it somewhat of an intrusion. A few words set all straight next morning and we had a hearty laugh about it.

"I was at Washington 3 weeks and I could have staid there with pleasure 3 weeks longer, but the higher powers had decreed otherwise and I was obliged to return to musty law.

"Aunt Nancy⁹ and myself were at Gettysburg last Feb^y to attend the anniversary of the Phrenakosmian Society and to hear a most splendid address from the stomach (for I am an Epicurean, in doctrin) of G. W. Barton, Esq^r., of Lancaster.

"I found Gettysburg and the people thereof very much altered. I found the girls all paired off every evening, so that wherever I went I found myself *de trop*.

"I attended the 22nd Ball in Gettysburg and such a ball! It was exactly like a fancy ball, except that in a fancy ball, everything was made queer by effort. There were some ladies from Baltimore who waltzed, so with some difficulty we raised a Spanish dance. In a short time, another Spanish dance was called for by the company and I expected we would be the only performers, but, lo and behold, on looking behind me, I found all of the company paired off. Now, the fun of it was that not one of them knew the waltz step, but *à la* Gettysburg, they must not be out done, so they made a complete stag dance of it.

"And now I suppose you are tired of various matters and wish me to stick to home.

"Papa¹⁰ came home last Friday, bringing with him a French Horn for me and a little violin for Phersy.¹¹

"On Saturday, we had the celebrated Davy Crockett to dinner. He is the biggest fool I ever saw, although he sometimes does say something smart. He says, 'People say it takes a man of sense to go to Congress. I don't know whether I have any or not, but if I had'nt good sense, I've had darned good luck.'

"The whole household are busy today fixing the house for the reception of Mr., Mrs. and Miss Webster¹² who are to be here on Tuesday.

"The weather has been intolerably bad for the last six weeks. We have had but one sunshiny day and that was by accident, altogether.

"The girls in town are all well, and none of them about to get married, which is more then some of my sisters can say. By the bye, I would advise you to him, of the rueful countenance, who 'sighs o'er the withered rose, etc.,' especially if he is rich. You know then I can be a groomsman and we can take a trip to Niagara at his expense.

⁹ Ann Grier.

¹⁰ Charles A. Barnitz, David's father.

¹¹ McPherson Barnitz, David's brother.

¹² Senator Daniel Webster, his wife, and daughter, Alice.

" Well, I am tired of writing and will only beg you to give my love to Mary Jane, Sally Ann, cousin Mary, cousin Jane, Mr. Cope and all the rest of the family and to believe me to be,

" Your affectionate brother,
" David G. Barnitz."

APPENDIX

It will not be amiss to append a few lines about Crockett's mother's birthplace. All that David Crockett knew about the birthplace of his mother, Rebecca Hawkins, was that she was born in Maryland, between Baltimore and York, Pennsylvania. It appears that no effort has been made to learn where this place was.

At the Maryland Historical Society, may be found two volumes, " Births, Marriages and Deaths," in St. John's P. E. Parish, at Old Joppa, then in Baltimore County, and in St. George's P. E. Parish, now in Hartford County. The index, from page 1 to 211, covers St. John's Parish and from 211 to 460, covers St. George's Parish. In both volumes many Hawkins names appear:

In Volume 2, p. 257: " Joseph Hawkins, born 23 April 1728, son of John and Rebecca Hawkins." " Rebecca Hawkins, born 23 February 1729, daughter of John and Rebecca Hawkins." Is it possible that Davy Crockett's mother was a daughter of this Joseph Hawkins?

Since these volumes also contain many references to the Crocketts, it is certainly indicated that Old Joppa was the location in Maryland where Rebecca Hawkins was born.

R. M. T.

SIDELIGHTS ON A BANK HISTORY¹

By LOUIS F. CAHN

The Farmers Bank of Maryland (now the Farmers National Bank) opened its doors for business on September 17, 1805. Unlike many " old " banks who have gone through a series of mergers, the Farmers has operated under an unbroken continuity of management during a century and a half. The preparation of its Sesqui-Centennial History, published this year, involved a search of all available records and resulted in the unearthing of a wealth of interesting incidents. In the actual writing of the history, the problem became one of selection and condensation, and many fascinating " sidelights," of no vital historical or financial significance, had to be discarded in the interest of brevity and readability. If I were a

¹ In place of a review of the author's *Sesqui-Centennial, 1805-1955, The Farmers National Bank of Annapolis*, these entertaining sidelights are printed.—Ed.

Gibbons or Prescott, addicted to footnotes—the delight of the historian and the bane of the reader—some of these juicy morsels might have been preserved. Perhaps this brief article will rescue them from a return to the limbo in which they reposed for so many years, and will reward the reader with a few chuckles.

THE DEAD HORSE MYSTERY

The minutes of August 9, 1815, record that "the cashier was instructed to pay Abel Tucker up to \$50 as compensation for a horse which died in the service of the bank." Who was Abel Tucker? His name does not appear as an officer or employee of the bank. How did the horse die? And, what was the bank doing with a horse, anyway? The mystery invites a guess: On August 25, 1815, when the British fleet threatened Annapolis, all the Bank's books and movable property were sent to the Frederick Town branch for safety. After October 5 they were moved back to Annapolis. Perhaps Mr. Tucker's steed was a casualty of "Operation Panic." Certainly, at this date, there will be none to deny it!

DISTANT RELATIONS

Although the Farmers Bank of Maryland, in Annapolis, had an Easton branch,² the relationship between the parent bank and the branch across the Bay was so distant that neither bank knew the scale of salaries paid by the other! In July of 1819, they agreed to exchange that information. A year later, the salaries of *both* branches were reduced by a special meeting of economy-minded stockholders! Coincidentally, the president of the Farmers Bank at Annapolis was Henry *Harwood*, and the president of the Easton branch was Nicholas *Hammond*. I doubt if the bank was known as the "Hammond-Harwood House."

SAFEGUARDING THE SPECIE

After the State Legislature, in January, 1805, chartered the Union Bank of Baltimore and the Farmers Bank, they reverted to a suspicious distrust of *all* banks, and passed a resolution providing that neither the Treasurer of the Western Shore nor the Treasurer of the Eastern Shore were to deposit state funds in *any* bank unless specifically authorized by Act of Legislature. Instead, the money was to be kept in the "iron box" in the State Treasury.

Thirty-one years later, the facilities for safeguarding specie had not improved much. The Minutes of September 7, 1836, record: "the Committee appointed to examine and count the specie nailed up in boxes and kegs, reported that they had discharged that duty and found it all correct."

² See review on p. 254 of this issue.—*Ed.*

DEATH OF A TITAN

The guiding genius of the bank in its earliest days was Jonathan Pinkney, the first cashier. He was on the premises literally night and day, after the Bank, in 1812, bought the Davidson House (formerly Reynolds Tavern) and remodelled it as a home for the cashier and his family. Mr. Pinkney held office for 23 years, until his death in January 1828. When he died, the Board of Directors voted that every director and officer was to wear a band of crepe on his left arm for a period of 30 days.

IF YOU CAN'T BEAT 'EM, JOIN 'EM

Originally the Bank printed its own notes from its own plates on a press in the banking house. Prior to 1842 no notes of less than \$5 were issued. Under the Act of 1842, the Bank began to print \$1, \$2, and \$3 bills, for which the old plates were retouched. This proved a false economy because counterfeit notes began to appear. Apparently Philadelphia was the headquarters of the counterfeiters because the Minutes of February 21, 1843, and also those of September 10, 1844, tell of the capture of counterfeiters in that city. Due to the frequency of the counterfeiting of one dollar bills, the bank decided to withdraw them from circulation and to discontinue the engraving of all its bank notes. Recognizing that Philadelphia was the center of the engraving industry—both licit and illicit, they awarded the contract to Draper & Co. of that city. This required a change in the by-laws of 1805 which had required all notes to be printed in the bank. Incidentally, bank notes of the Farmers Bank of Maryland turned up as late as July, 1916, and September, 1916, when two \$10 bills, dated 1826, were presented.

LATE THANKSGIVING

The Minutes of December 11, 1844, record that the Bank was ordered closed for Thanksgiving Day on *December 12*—evidence that "monkeying with the calendar" was *not* a New Deal innovation.

LAND AT 35¢ PER ACRE

When the Northern Pacific Railroad defaulted on its bonds in 1876, the Farmers National Bank held \$25,000 worth. Under the provisions of the "Livingston Plan" of reorganization, the Bank received 32,000 acres for \$10,000 in bonds. This land was so remote and in such unknown territory, that the Bank had to engage an agent in North Dakota to find the land and arrange for its sale. Purchasers were hard to find, and those who did buy often failed to produce enough in crops to keep up their payments and the Bank was forced to repossess the property. It was not until December 26, 1906—thirty years later—that the last of the land was finally sold. However, the bank realized a profit of \$2389.67 over the value of the bonds.

VIRTUE IS ITS OWN REWARD—OR IS IT?

From the earliest days, the Bank had been the depository of the funds of the Anne Arundel County Commissioners and School Commissioners. In 1908 a rival Annapolis bank attempted to secure the County deposits by offering to pay interest at the rate of 1% per annum on the daily balances. The County Commissioners declined the offer, declaring their confidence in the institution which had safeguarded their funds for over 100 years. Whereupon the Board of the Farmers passed a resolution, reading, in part: "Whereas, while deeply appreciating the wisdom of said action and the confidence which it indicated in this institution, which has for one hundred years safeguarded the public funds of this county and has in every possible way upheld its credit, this bank is unwilling that said confidence should in any way be of possible disadvantage to the public, therefore be it:

"Resolved, that this bank hereby offers to pay *two per cent* per annum on such daily balances. . . ."

This was a gesture of good public relations, par excellence. Unfortunately, however, it is *not* the end of the story. Three years later, in June, 1911, the County Commissioners decided to divide their deposits, two-thirds to the Farmers National Bank, and one-third to the rival institution, and demanded interest *at the rate of 3%!*

" IF . . . "

Historians who love to muse on what would have happened "if . . ." will find this item intriguing. In June, 1918, the Bank received a letter from the Comptroller of the Currency asking their views on proposed legislation by Congress to create a Government Guarantee of Deposits up to \$5000 per account. The Board replied with an emphatic "NO" and authorized the sending of telegrams to Senators Smith and France and to Congressman Mudd urging opposition to the bill.

The bill was never acted upon. IF it had passed, would the financial history of the 1930s have been a more cheerful one? IF. . . .

Martin, Luther, "Autobiography"—The following paragraphs from *Modern Gratitude* (pp. 161-162) form a conclusion to the autobiographical account which appeared in the June issue (pp. 152-171):

"To all who have witnessed the affectionate respect and attention I universally receive, and ever have received, when on the Eastern Shore; with almost every worthy family residing whereon, from Cecil county to the Capes of Virginia, I have long been acquainted, no arguments need be urged to convince them, that no part of my conduct, at any time, while I resided there, had been thought base or dishonourable. But as the time and place of the unknown infamy is confined to Queen-Ann, and ante-

cedent to my removal therefrom—to the inhabitants of that county, who were then living, and, who then knew me, I will make my appeal—With the Tilghmans, Earls, Wrights, Courceys, Emorys, Downes, Carradines, Garnets, Hoppers, Nicholsons, Phiddimans, Bruffs, Kents, Hawkins's, Thomas's, Dames, Bordleys, Claytons, Jacksons, Halls, Blakes, Chatham, Bryans, Browns, Seneys, and many other respectable families in that county, I became acquainted immediately on my settling there and have been acquainted with them and their descendants ever since.

"With some of these who are yet living I was in habits of great intimacy; particularly with Mr. William Bruff, now of this city, who then resided in Queen-Ann, who has served his country as a member of the council of safety for the Eastern-Shore, during the revolution, and since that time for some years as speaker of the house of assembly, and with Cols. Kent and Phiddiman and Mr. Dames.

"Of young gentlemen, who were under my care while I taught the Free-school, who are now fathers of families and living, I recollect the names of Messrs. William Tilghman, Edward Coursey, Henry Coursey, Thomas Lane Emory, Gideon Emory, Francis Rozier, William Keene, and Colonel Samuel Wright."

Civil War Cannon—At the Virginia Military Institute we have a number of cannon used during the War Between the States and among them a howitzer, which after its services in battle was assigned the duty of serving as the Evening Gun at V. M. I. This howitzer fired a salute to the colors for seventy years until a modern field artillery piece replaced it.

There was originally a companion to this howitzer. It was lost during the Battle of Antietam according to our records, and we believe that it may still be somewhere in Maryland. It is 60 inches in length with a ball like handle at the breach end—the circumference of the breach 30 inches—the circumference at the muzzle 25 inches—and its trunions measuring 4 inches in diameter—On the top surface above the trunions is the Seal of Virginia.

It would be a great service to the Institute, if you would help us to locate our cannon. We would like to have it placed by the graves of the cadets who fell on the field of honor at the Battle of New Market, May 15, 1864.

Should the cannon be located, we would send an escort of cadets to bring it home.

WILLIAM MARKS SIMPSON
Virginia Military Institute, Lexington, Va.

Fairbrother-Kerr—Will greatly appreciate any leads to published or unpublished material relating to Anne, wife of Francis Fairbrother of Annapolis, before and after the Revolution. The couple's daughter, Elfida married a John Kerr; their daughter Anne became ward of John Steele, a grand uncle living at Fells Point, Baltimore, 1800-1810.

WILLIAM A. KINNEY

1345 28th St., N. W., Washington 7, D. C.

Booth—Information is requested concerning parentage and ancestry of the two wives of Junius Brutus Booth (1796-1852), namely Mary Christine Adelaide Delanny (d. 3-9-1858 in Baltimore) and Mary Ann Holmes (d. 10-22-1885 in New York).

R. D. MUDD, M. D.

1001 Hoyt St., Saginaw, Mich.

Davidson—Need leads to material about Samuel Davidson, associated for some years before and after the Revolution with his brother John in an Annapolis mercantile firm. Samuel (1747-1810) removed to Georgetown pre-1789 and was a large landholder of D. C. property when Washington was laid out. Would like confirmation of report that he set up in business in Vienna, Dorchester Co., ca. 1773 after wide Eastern Shore travels, also regarding his life in Annapolis. His legatees included neices Mary Davidson Harris (Mrs. Henry R. Chapman of Charles Co.) and Margaret Davidson of Annapolis, and John Harris, son of the predeceased Eleanor Davidson (Mrs. Thomas Harris, Jr.). Nieces were the children of John Davidson of Annapolis and Eleanor Strachan, the latter possibly of St. Mary's Co.

WILLIAM A. KINNEY

1345 28th St., N. W., Washington 7, D. C.

Murray-Hunt(t)—Can someone please give me date of birth and marriage of Richard Alfred Murray (b. prob. Charles Co. ca. 1810). His wife's first name was Adeline. Who was she? What was his parentage and what was hers? Also date of birth and marriage of George A. Hunt(t) (b. prob. Charles Co. ca. 1820). Who was his first wife and what is her date of birth and parentage? Who were George A. Hunt's parents?

TIMOTHY A. COLCORD

5759 13th St., N. W., Washington 11, D. C.

Warfield-Chaney—Would appreciate any information which would prove Benj. Warfield (who married Rebecca Spurrier) was the son of John who married Mary Chaney Warfield in 1761. Would also like dates of births and deaths.

MRS. WM. B. WINGO
1230 Manchester Ave., Norfolk 8, Va.

Back Issues—The Society always welcomes the return of any and all back issues of the *Maryland Historical Magazine* that members may not wish to retain.

CONTRIBUTORS

MR. FOSTER teaches in the public schools of California. ☆ MR. BELL is Assistant Editor, *The Papers of Benjamin Franklin*. ☆ MRS. CLARK and her son have previously contributed to the *Magazine*. ☆ The late DR. EDMUNDSON and the late MR. ROBERTS were students of local history. ☆ An officer of our Society, MR. MARYE completes in this issue his study of the Barrens.